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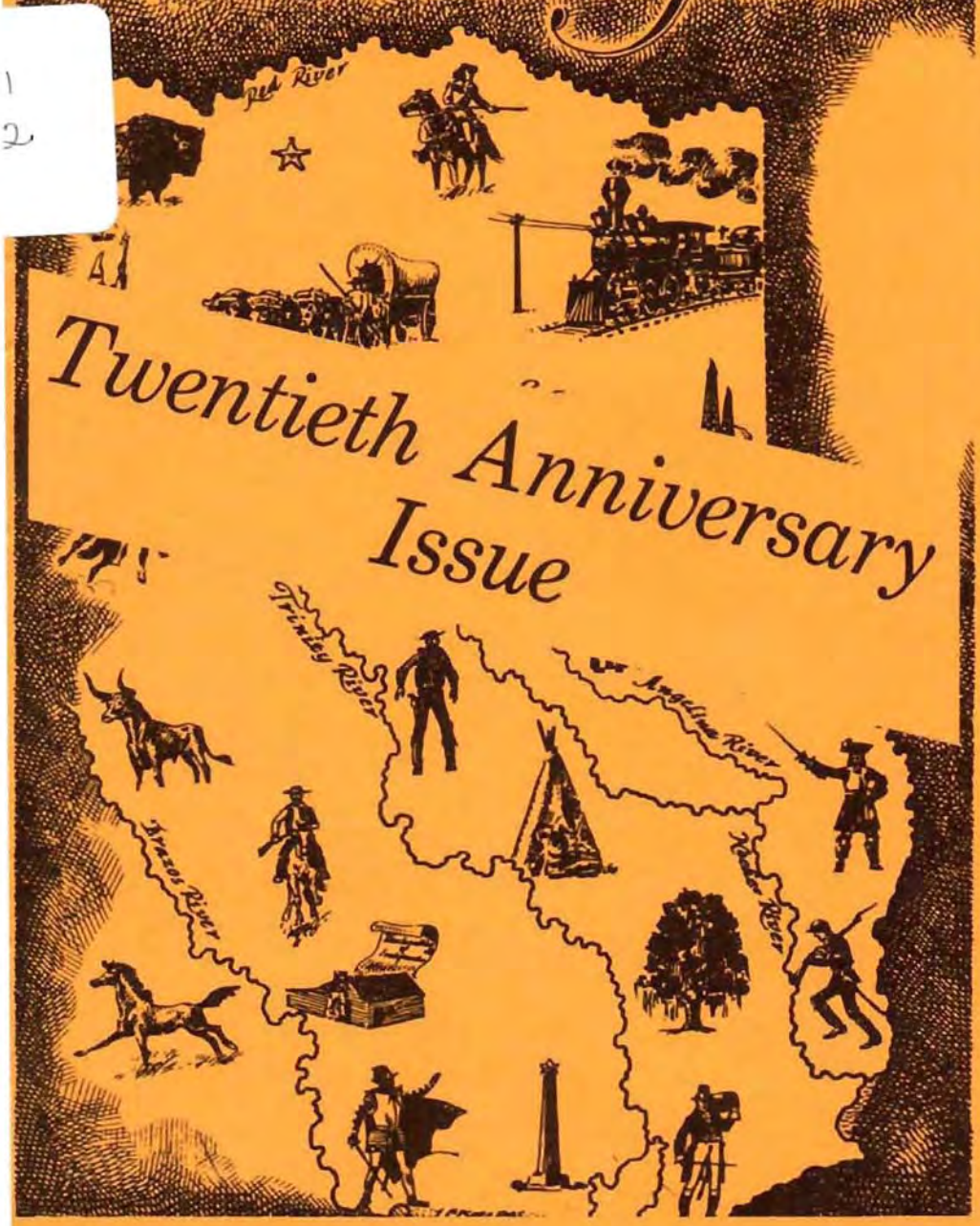

Twentieth Anniversary Issue

VOLUME XX 1982 NUMBER 2

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The Gift of Christmas

THE BEST IS YET TO COME

by F. Lee Lawrence

Last fall Archie McDonald asked me to write a little piece on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of our revival of the East Texas Historical Association. At the time I didn't think the fact that we had lasted twenty years was worthy of much notice. As historians and antiquarians, we know that two decades is a very short span in the calendar of human experience. In other words, who notices twenty years? But the answer is that while twenty years is brief in the life of mankind, it is a profound amount of our individual lives—almost one-third of our life expectancy. Since September 1962 we have buried an assassinated president of our country, elected four other men to that high office, one of whom resigned from office for the first time in our history, landed Americans on the moon, fought a war in Southeast Asia and watched interest rates go to 25%.

While all of this has been going on, a lot of water has passed under the Association's bridge. We have published thirty-nine issues of the *East Texas Historical Journal* under the careful leadership of our first Editor, the late C. K. Chamberlain, and his successor, Archie McDonald. We have lost our dear friends and stalwarts, F. I. Tucker, Ralph Steen, J. L. Clark, and others, too many to name. Some of our present members were not even born when we began our charter year. Certainly many of our most valuable members have joined our ranks in recent years. It is a comment on the effect of the passage of time to observe that most of our current leaders are not charter members. That gives me some satisfaction.

In order to refresh my memory about the events of our organizational efforts in the summer of 1962, and the first meeting on September 29, I retrieved my old files on the East Texas Historical Association. With the help of a wealth of correspondence, minutes and reports, I wandered back through those days. It proved to be a sentimental journey. The picture that emerges is of a truly grass roots group of East Texans representing a wide range of historical interests and viewpoints. In the picture I see myself as a young, energetic first president who set a lot of unattainable goals for myself and the Association. The board of directors met four times that year which does sound like the work of an overly zealous young president. But we had a lot of work to do, including the naming and publication of our first issue of the *East Texas Historical Journal,* which was well received. We knew much of what we did that first year would set the pattern for the years to come and so it did. We had a spring meeting in an East Texas city (Jefferson

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F. Lee Lawrence served as the first president of the East Texas Historical Association 1962-63.

FIRST OFFICERS AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—1962-1963

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that year) and returned to Nacogdoches for our annual meeting, thus establishing a custom which has continued to this date.

Our principal efforts that first year were directed to building a membership base. We were gratified with the results but the following year we were disappointed to discover that a large number of our membership wanted to be identified as "charter members" but did not want to continue their membership and support on a permanent basis.

The clearest portion of the emerging picture is the determined and unflagging support of Ralph W. Steen and Stephen F. Austin State University. When Dr. Chamberlain first contacted me in the summer of 1962 about the organization and revival of the East Texas Historical Association, he told me that he had the support of Dr. Steen, then president of SFA. This proved to be accurate, as we learned at the organizational meeting, when it was disclosed that the University would support Dr. Chamberlain to serve as Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal*. In fact, it can now be told that since the Association had no money, SFA paid entirely for the first *Journal*. It was supposed to be a secret but to everyone's horror, the State printer included in first issue of the *Journal* the announcement that it was "a publication of Stephen F. Austin State University."

In October 1963, F. I. Tucker of Nacogdoches succeeded me as president and in his well-remembered style, requested that I sent him a "HANDBOOK FOR EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION'S PRESIDENTS."

Some of you may not know that an earlier East Texas Historical Society was organized in 1926 and had its first annual meeting on April 29 and 30, 1927, in Nacogdoches at SFA. George L. Crockett was its first president and he observed appropriately in the bulletin concerning the proceedings of the first meeting that while other regions of Texas more carefully recorded the history of their past, "equal care has not been taken to record the significant events which have occurred in the eastern section." But the first East Texas Historical Association fell on hard times and discontinued as an organization in the early 1930s. Crockett's comment seemed to be prophetic. Throughout the years our own Association has been haunted by the memory that its direct predecessor did not survive.

However, its continuance now for two decades, coupled with the continuing support of SFA and other old friends and supporters, along with newly found ones, convinces me that the hardest years are past and the best is yet to come. The Association continues to be a source of great satisfaction and fellowship for me. I hope it is the same for you.

F. Lee Lawrence
at Tyler March 1982

FORESTRY AND POLITICS IN TEXAS, 1915-1921

by Marilyn D. Rhinehart

As Americans entered the 20th century, they reflected on the future of a nation transformed in a relatively short period of time from a predominantly agrarian, rural country into a powerful industrial, urban one. Huge corporations with an increasingly pervasive hold on the marketplace had appeared, generating tremendous wealth, not for all Americans, but for the conspicuous few. Sprawling slums, populated by workers who labored and lived in the most deplorable of conditions, despoiled the cities. Also, in the wake of this rapid industrialization, fueled in part by the exploitation of human resources, Americans faced the frightening prospect of the depletion of the nation's natural resources as well.[1] To correct the social, economic, and political ills afflicting the nation, reform-minded Americans rejected the philosophies of an earlier age which denied governmental action as a solution to society's problems and launched a "moral, political, economic, and intellectual revolt" which became known as progressivism.[2] With Theodore Roosevelt's assumption of presidential duties in 1901, progressive sentiment took residence in the White House, stimulating and sanctioning a movement, which in its twenty years of activity would cross party lines and leave few aspects of American life free from examination.[3]

Of the issues progressives raised, the need to conserve the nation's natural resources held a special attraction for many far-sighted Americans, including Roosevelt. Prodded by United States Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, Roosevelt fought to protect America's water, mineral, and forest reserves. Conservation activists joined Pinchot and Roosevelt in attempts to regulate resource utilization through such activities as a Governors' Conference in 1908 to publicize conservation concerns, withdrawal of forest and water reserves from private leasing, educational efforts directed at public indifference to the conservation issue, cooperation with lumbermen interested in scientific forestry, and the passage of legislation to facilitate efficient resource use at the local level.[4] Of the early legislative successes forest conservationists enjoyed, the 1911 Weeks Act proved the most important in encouraging state forest protection activity through its authorization of federal appropriations for states having organized forest protection agencies.[5] In the Gulf South the comparatively late entrance of commercial lumbermen into southern pine forests and the more subtle nature of fires there, attracting significantly less public attention than the billowing, crown fires of the Northwest, precluded the establishment of forestry agencies before the turn of the century. As the new century opened, however, and fire and lumbering activity opened more of the wooded aisles to the sunlight,

Marilyn D. Rhinehart teaches history at North Harris County Junior College.

southerners lobbied for creation of specialized forestry agencies which could receive significant federal aid under the cooperative features of the Weeks Act. By the second decade of the twentieth century both Texas and Louisiana had established such agencies, followed by Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Arkansas in the next two decades.[6]

In Texas, interested citizens, including lumbermen J. Lewis Thompson of the Thompson Brothers' Lumber Company and John Henry Kirby of the Kirby Lumber Company, *Gulf Coast Lumberman* editor Jack Dionne, and the tireless "father of Texas forestry," W. Goodrich Jones, commenced agitation for an organized forestry policy for the state early in the twentieth century. Across a span of fifteen years they wrote letters, planned conservation conferences, passed conservation resolutions, drew a positive response from the press, and launched a movement to educate the public and their representatives in Austin to the desperate need for an organized forestry system for Texas.[7] By 1915 they achieved their legislative goal of establishing a Department of Forestry, ironically during the administration of Governor James Ferguson, no particular friend of Texas progressives.[8] The timing of the act's passage, however, does not deny its link to Texas progressivism. Progressives in Thomas Campbell's gubernatorial administration, 1907-1911, which has been called "the high tide of progressivism in Texas,"[9] awarded forest conservation a low priority in their assault on corporate excesses,[10] but they did exhibit some interest in forestry matters. In 1907 Texas legislators approved creation of a Department of Agriculture, which included among its duties, tree planting, forest preservation, and reforestation.[11] In the same year the legislature awarded certain fire policing powers to the Game, Fish, and Oyster Commission to curtail forest fire damage.[12] Although these agencies virtually ignored their forestry duties because of public apathy and a lack of actual authority, these actions represented a recognition of the need for forest protection.[13] In 1908 Campbell sent Jones as his personal representative to Roosevelt's Governors' Conference where in an address to the delegates, Jones pledged the state's support for national conservation programs and dedicated Texans to conservation efforts in their own state.[14] The Texas visit of United States Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot to confer with the Conservation Committee of the Yellow Pine Manufacturers' Association and to observe the operations of the Thompson Brothers' Lumber Company as well as to assess the possibility of timber regrowth on the company's land further enhanced the possibility of a more concerted forestry movement in Texas. Pinchot himself ranked this conference as a giant step towards greater government and business cooperation in the wise use of resources, an attitude representative of many protressive-era conservationists who saw the need to rely on lumber industry support, where practical, to achieve their common goal of

efficient utilization.[15] Furthermore, in 1910, two hundred Texans, including Commissioner of Agriculture Ed Kone, Jones, and Thompson, convened as the First Congress of the Texas Conservation Association which subsequently recommended the creation of a Department of Forestry.[16] The cooperative effort of government officials, conservationists, and private lumber interests apparent in both the Pinchot visit and the Texas Conservation Association meeting was a harbinger of future conservation activities in Texas.

The timber protection issue evidently attracted certain reform-minded individuals during progressivism's heyday in the state, but it also drew the support of individuals, motivated by varying concerns, who did not fit the "progressive" mold. A superficial examination of forestry's legislative spokesmen—Representatives Bernard Schwegman of Bexar County, Louis H. Scholl of Comal County, Frank H. Burmeister of Atascosa County, Louis S. Wortham of Tarrant County, T. F. Baker of Scurry County, H. R. Walters of Anderson County, Charles S. Gainer of Brazos County, Sam H. Dixon of Harris County, Richard F. Burges of El Paso, and Senators Claude Hudspeth of El Paso, J. R. Astin of Brazos County, and L. H. Bailey of Harris County[17]—to determine their connection with other progressive issues in Texas, such as women's suffrage or prohibition, produces conflicting evidence. Of forestry's advocates in the legislature, only Representative Burmeister clearly held a position of leadership in a major progressive reform movement, women's suffrage. In March, 1915, he introduced a joint resolution before the legislature for a women's suffrage amendment.[18] Representative Burges, whom Jones credited with assuring the 1915 legislative victory for forestry, served only two terms in the legislature, from 1913-1917, which limits efforts to assess his penchant for other "progressive" reforms. However, he officially endorsed the more equitable treatment of married women concerning property rights and advocated substantial aid for the state's public education system, which suggests a propensity for changing rather than conserving the status quo.[19] Senator Hudspeth, who worked for the 1915 forestry bill's passage in the close Senate fight, gained some notoriety as a Wilson critic and also allied himself with Joseph W. Bailey, one of progressivism's most vociferous foes in Texas.[20] Of Texas' chief executives subsequent to Campbell, Governors William P. Hobby and Pat M. Neff, heirs of Texas progressivism, responded positively to Jones' requests for official support.[21] On the other hand, it was progressive adversary James Ferguson, "a special friend of [Jones']" who signed the bill into law. Furthermore, Jones told members of the Texas Forestry Association in 1939 that in the fight for the bill's passage, the greatest struggle occurred in the Senate, for "the Germans in the House were solid for it."[22] As a group these Germans were also solidly against another "progressive" reform—prohibition.[23]

All together, this collection of conflicting evidence supports the contention that Ferguson's demagoguery, "Baileyism," and the divisive prohibition issue clouded progressive/conservative battle lines and thus confound efforts to label individuals and causes subsequent to Ferguson's election in 1914.[24]

More important to understanding the political nature of the forest conservation movement is Jones' own motives and methods. Jones' correspondence reveals little or no interest in other contemporary political issues, although throughout his years of conservation work he welcomed and received political support for forestry from a remarkably divergent group of individuals. Between 1915 and 1921, for example, the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, the Single Tax League, the Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association, and the Texas Lumbermen's Association, among others, endorsed some or all of Jones' legislative projects.[25] Jones' own advocacy of forestry apparently emanated more from a deeply-rooted love of nature and its forests and his German educational experiences than from a desire to lash out at one expression of industrial excess.[26] Only when a dramatic rift emerged in the forestry movement, produced by the lumber industry's successful assault on a proposed severance tax on cut timber, did Jones react with bitter, angry rhetoric against the lumber titans.[27] Thus, typically, Jones' lobbying before the legislature, his sincere but practical cooperation with lumbermen, and his multifaceted appeals to the public symbolize the nature of the Texas forestry movement itself from 1915-1921. Stimulated through popularization of the cause by Roosevelt and other progressives, Texas forest conservation efforts grew out of the concern of conservation-minded individuals, regardless of party or philosophical persuasion, who for a variety of political, economic, or personal reasons feared the loss of Texas' forest wealth.

The actual fight for creation of a state forest agency in Texas began on January 15, 1915, when Representative Burges forwarded to the House Committee on Forestry a comprehensive forestry bill designed principally by the United States Forest Service's Chief of State Cooperation, J. Girvin Peters. This bill would have created a State Board of Forestry, headed by a state forester and funded by a $20,000 appropriation, to plan and supervise all forest policy matters.[28] Federal aid in drafting and lobbying for the measure did not assure its acceptance, however, as evidenced by the debate the bill's introduction produced in the legislature. In describing his lobbying for the bill before the legislators, Jones recounted the appraisal of one Texas legislator on the issue of forest conservation. "You have talked a lot, now I want to say something. I don't want no forestry dudes coming to Texas. I've read all about them. They draw the people's pay and spend their time behind their offices playing lawn tennis." Furthermore, he categorically char-

acterized all foresters as "a lot of damn grafters" and promised to use his influence to defeat the bill. Expressing a sentiment typical of an era when few Americans expressed outrage at the exploitation of natural resources, Jones' adversary concluded "we've got enough lumber in Texas for a hundred years. I'm a farmer and I'm fighting 'bresh' all the time. The pesky trees grow faster than we could cut them down."[29] Prevailing against such ignorance remained a frustrating task for Jones and his supporters in their legislative work for years to come.

Before the bill reached a vote it underwent a major change in response to concern that an independent state forestry board would be too vulnerable to political influence. More importantly, for several years Texas A&M College had wanted a forestry department within its system, so with the opportunity to achieve that goal at hand, Texas A&M President William B. Bizzell and A&M Dean of Agriculture Edwin J. Kyle rewrote the measure, eliminating the independent board and incorporating a Department of Forestry within Texas A&M College.[30] The House Committee approved this change and added one of its own, halving the proposed $20,000 appropriation to fund the agency.[31] In this revised form the measure passed the House by a comfortable margin, but in the Senate, opposition mounted and only one affirmative vote saved it from defeat.[32] Despite the narrow victory, forestry's lobbyists left Austin, confident that Governor Ferguson, a hunting companion of Jones, would sign the bill into law. Much to their surprise, Ferguson balked at this final step, basing his action on a desire to save the state a little money. He argued that an A&M graduate could be persuaded to accept the position of head forester for half the proposed $3,000 salary. Jones, Bizzell, and State Geologist William B. Phillips retraced their steps to Austin and in a face-to-face meeting with Ferguson convinced him to sign the bill, a promise he fulfilled on March 31, 1915.[33] With this success, Jones and his cohorts optimistically looked forward to a brighter day for Texas' timber resources. Their optimism soon faded, however, in the face of the department's shortage of funds and resulting limitation on actual fire protection work. Out of necessity the department turned to an educational program aimed at contradicting popular myths extolling the beneficial effects of fire in the woods, known as light-burning. This educational program undoubtedly contributed to the small drop in timber loss witnessed in 1917 and 1918.[34] Conservationists pointed to this improvement, minimal as it was, as an indication of the soundness of scientific forestry practices, but Texas' next legislative session saw the serious debate of that question.

When the Thirty-fifth Legislature convened in January, 1917, its members, cognizant of a slowdown in the state's economy, and no doubt sensitive to the Ferguson controversy brewing, pledged to trim the budget by abolishing useless projects. The Senate Finance Committee, incor-

rectly convinced that forestry served no public interest, completely eliminated the Department of Forestry from the state budget.[32] This action sent Jones rushing to Austin to reargue the department's value. Refused a hearing before the committee, Jones, resourceful as always, lobbied the legislators informally, deluging them with telegrams and editorials favoring retention of an organized forestry bureau.[33] Jones later reminisced that he found most legislators responsive to his arguments except Senator J. C. McNealus of Dallas who, Jones declared, "didn't strike me as being in his right mind." Jones found the senator so opposed to anything progressive that he threatened to "make a cotton warehouse out of both the University and the A&M College . . . ."[34] Fortunately the senator's unenlightened views did not prevail, and under pressure from the Texas Forestry Association (TFA), an organization founded in 1914 to lobby for forestry in Texas and presided over by Jones, the committee acquiesced in appropriating $11,500 for the department's use. Jones perceived the department's reprieve as a blessing, for he noted "[the legislators] were under a panic cutting the little items and letting the big ones stand."[35]

Following this incident in the legislature, the department's first head forester, John H. Foster, suffered great personal disappointment and frustration at the budget committee's parsimony. The legislature's wasting of $28,000 to study a clear issue and then equipping the department so spartanly that it simply could not function tested his patience to the fullest. He angrily charged the committee's members with apathy, ignorance, and political chicanery, contending they were more interested in finding fault with Governor Ferguson's administrative accomplishments than with protecting the public interest.[36] In light of the sequence of events in Ferguson's administration that same year, Foster's contention was probably accurate. Joining him in castigating the legislature for its wastefulness and indifference, the outspoken lumber trade journal, *The Southern Industrial and Lumber Review*, remarked that "Texas has been well cursed with 'nuts' but in this particular instance the production seems to have been overdone and to spare."[37] Forestry's advocates had saved the department, but this monetary crisis revealed the precarious nature of the 1915 victory. Yet another political fight in the near future would further disquiet them.

The even greater diminution of the state's timber supply by the close of the second decade of the twentieth century, a product of a more active cutting policy demanded by American participation in World War I, stimulated a more vocal public concern for timber conservation.[38] Texans viewed increasing acres of denuded, cut-over lands and sought some solution. Out of this concern developed a dramatic battle between public forestry and its advocates and the lumber industry, a fight which disrupted the coalition Jones had cultured for so long. Forestry again

became a hot political issue, and verbal abuse and recrimination on both sides shook the forest conservation movement, stifling the passage of much needed legislation well into the 1920s.

Traditionally, lumbermen converted logged-off lands into agricultural or grazing tracts for public sale, because once cut over, the land became a significant tax burden for lumber companies.[42] "Wild-land taxation," as lumberman Harry T. Kendall, Sales Agent of the Kirby Lumber Company, termed it, thwarted attempts at private reforestation, making it economically unfeasible. Therefore, lumbermen, adhering to a "cut out and get out" policy, cut both mature and immature timber before increasing land tax valuations could offset the timber's value. Once lumbermen cut over and sold their timbered land, Kendall admitted, most expected to reinvest the capital in another enterprise such as banking, ranching, or manufacturing. Privately, lumbermen like Kendall shared conservationists' concern over denuded land and supported reforestation practices, but the only solution, they asserted, lay with the state. Either the tax system had to be altered or the state should take responsibility for purchasing cutover lands, reforesting them, and placing them under the state's control.[43] As they viewed over four million acres of cutover land, concerned Texans led by members of the Texas Forestry Association and the state's new Chief Forester Eric O. Siecke, took these suggestions and concerns into account and pressed the state to rectify the situation.[44]

In August and September, 1920, Jones wrote Governor William P. Hobby requesting the appointment of a "Committee of 50 on Forestry" to study the problem and to make recommendations.[45] Reform-minded in his own right, Hobby complied, and out of the committee's activity emerged a series of resolutions[46] which the TFA sponsored in 1921 before the Thirty-eighth Legislature as a comprehensive forestry bill. Among other things, the bill proposed revamping the state's taxation system through implementation of a severance tax of 12½ cents per thousand board feet on cut timber. Revenue from this tax would be applied to the purchase of state forests for public management and utilization.[47] This tax resembled a Louisiana severance tax, adopted in 1911, which provided for the annual payment of an ad valorem tax on the land itself but none on the maturing timber's value until cut. Upon harvesting of the timber crop the state collected a percentage of the timber's value and placed it in a forestry fund.[48] The TFA seized upon such an idea as the solution to the woes of both the state and lumber interests, but with few exceptions, members of the Lumbermen's Association, led by Houston attorney John A. Mobley and buttressed by Jack Dionne's anti-severance tax editorials in the *Gulf Coast Lumberman,* rejected the proposal.[49] Subsequently, passions flared on both sides, aggravating an always potentially explosive relationship.

Jack Dionne charged that the tax was "class legislation," which would "impose upon the purchasers of lumber today the burden of furnishing forests for all citizens of the state in the future."[28] The fact that Louisiana had such a tax system moved few Texas lumbermen. "The existence of fool laws," Dionne wrote, "does not prove their worth. . . ."[29] Adopting a short-sighted, economically selfish position, the lumber industry deemed the tax discriminatory and too burdensome and proposed instead the sale of bonds to Texas citizens to finance reforestation in the state.[30] In response to the lumber industry's opposition, Jones bitterly confronted the lumbermen with the charge that they were in complicity with the oil and nursery men in their campaign to defeat the bill, revealing for the first time his tremendous frustration at their recalcitrance.[31] In a personal letter to Max Bentley, editor of the Houston *Chronicle*, a frustrated Jones accused the lumbermen of sabotaging the forestry department's activities and from the outset doing little to help the forestry movement itself. "I have sore spots all over me," he wrote, "that have been made by these lumbermen ever since the tree work started in Texas and I can't help telling you what very wicked people they are."[32] In a stroke of progressive rhetoric, Jones accused the lumbermen of wanting to "hog-tie Texas to the lumber trust of the North West."[33]

On the severance tax issue the lumber industry and forest conservationists truly reached a parting of the ways. Lumbermen may have agreed philosophically with the need to reforest, but it had to be on their own terms. Lumber interests feared passage of the severance tax as a dangerous precedent for government regulation and interference in their business and thus stymied the state's attempt to give itself that power. To the relief of the industry and the chagrin of more idealistic conservationists, hopeful after months of legislative lobbying, the bill never came to a vote.[34] The lumber industry's influence, of course, played a large role in this but so did the complacent public which had long tired of any such "progressive" reform.[35] To add insult to injury, the measure's political opponents, including Lieutenant-Governor Lynch Davidson and Commissioner of Agriculture George Terrell, angered at the Department's lobbying for the tax, attempted to place power over forestry matters back within the Department of Agriculture's jurisdiction. This move forestry's advocates accurately denounced as potentially disastrous. Terrell, an appointee subject to significant political pressure, had opposed the original forestry bill, and Jones had little faith he would accomplish the goals conservationists set upon the passage of the Burges bill.[36] Jones and his cohorts thwarted the ploy, but the sobering experience of the legislative battle reminded them of their dependence on the lumberman's support.

Hard feelings and suspicion between the two adversary groups

persisted, but with the tax fight over and the issue dropped for the time being, lumbermen cast a more friendly eye toward Texas' forestry department throughout the rest of the decade. A reconciliation between the agency and the industry, facilitated by conservationists' resignation to the practicality of conciliating rather than threatening lumber interests, and the department's growing success in reeducating the public on the legitimacy and efficacy of a scientific forestry program contributed to a more politically receptive atmosphere in the future. Forest conservation achieved political popularity in the 1920s, as evidenced in the Democratic Party's inclusion in its 1922 campaign platform of a demand for further forest conservation work.[58] As a result, significant forest protection measures passed through the legislature, including a program to establish state forests. Forestry had come of age in Texas, and interested Texans, whatever their motives or interest in forest protection and renewal, could sigh with some relief that organized forestry had survived.

NOTES

[1]Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny: A Hisotry of Modern American Reform* (New York, 1972), 34-35.

[2]George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (New York, 1960), 10.

[3]Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny*, 162.

[4]For a comprehensive discussion of conservationists' activities see Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and The Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), J. Leonard Bates, "Fulfilling American Democracy: The Conservation Movement, 1907-1921," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIX (June, 1957), 29-57.

[5]J. Girvin Peters, *Forest Fire Protection under the Weeks Law in Cooperation with the States*, United States Department of Agriculture, Circular 205 (Washington, 1912), 5-8.

[6]See Robert S. Maxwell, "The Impact of Forestry on the Gulf South," *Journal of Forest History*, XVII (April, 1973), 31-35; Robert S. Maxwell, "The Pines of Texas: A Study in Lumbering and Public Policy, 1880-1930," *East Texas Historical Journal*, II (October, 1964), 77-86.

[7]For a complete discussion of Jones' life and conservation activities see Robert S. Maxwell, "One Man's Legacy: W. Goodrich Jones and Texas Conservation," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXVII (January, 1974), 355-380; see also W. Goodrich Jones, "Campaigning for Forestry in Texas," *American Forests and Forest Life*, XXXIII (January, 1927), 42-43; speech delivered by W. Goodrich Jones entitled "Forestry," 1, W. Goodrich Jones Papers (Stephen F. Austin University, Nacogdoches, Texas). Hereafter cited as Jones Papers.

[8]James A. Tinsley, "The Progressive Movement in Texas" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1953), 75, 314; see also Janet Schmelzer, "Thomas M. Campbell: Progressive Governor of Texas," *Red River Valley Historical Review*, III (Fall, 1978), 52-63; Lewis L. Gould, "Progressive and Prohibitionists: Texas Democratic Politics, 1911-1921," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXV (July, 1971), 14.

[9]Tinsley, "The Progressive Movement in Texas," 75, 314.

[10]Gould, "Progressives and Prohibitionists," 9.

[11]*Vernon's Annotated Revised Statutes of the State of Texas* (Kansas City, Mo., 1965), I, 298-299.

[12]*Vernon's Annotated Penal Code of the State of Texas* (Kansas City, Mo., 1961), II, 602.

[13]"Forestry Laws of Texas," *Gulf Coast Lumberman*, II (November 15, 1914), 34.

[14]Newton C. Blanchard, and others (eds.), *Proceedings of a Conference of Governors in the White House, Washington D.C., May 13-15, 1908* (Washington, 1909), 3, 190-191.

[15]J. C. Dionne, "Yale Foresters in Texas," *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review, XVI* (April, 1909), 44-45; "Mr. Pinchot in Texas," *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review*, XVI (May, 1909), 60.

[16]Dallas *Morning News*, April 6, 1910.

[17]Richard F. Burges to W. Goodrich Jones, March 25, 1915, Richard F. Burges Papers (University of Texas at Austin Archives, Austin, Texas). Hereafter referred to as Burges Papers. Ed Paso *Morning Times*, April 30, 1915.

[18]Tinsley, "The Progressive Movement in Texas," 205; A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Texas," *Journal of Southern History*, XVII (May, 1951), 194-215; Austin *Daily Statesman*, March 16, 1915.

[19]Rex W. Strickland, "Richard F. Burges," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (April, 1945), 559; El Paso *Morning Times*, April 30, 1915.

[20]Lewis J. Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democrats in the Wilson Era* (Austin, 1973), 243. Hudspeth also sat on a joint committee to investigate prison conditions which recommended significant reforms for the prison system. Tinsley, "The Progressive Movement in Texas," 226.

[21]Governor Pat Neff to W. Goodrich Jones, November 20, 1920 and Governor Pat Neff to W. Goodrich Jones, May 4, 1921, Jones Papers; Dallas *Morning News*, December 18, 1920.

[22]Speech entitled "Forestry," Jones Papers.

[23]Gould, *Progressives and Prohibitionists*, 54, 56.

[24]Tinsley, "The Progressive Movement," 75, 315; Gould, "Progressives and Prohibitionists," 10-11.

[25]See TFA letter, W. Goodrich Jones to members, April 17, 1916, Jones Papers, concerning Texas Lumberman's Convention endorsement; Irra Caddell Marrs (President of Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association) to W. Goodrich Jones, January 28, 1921, Jones Papers; Florence C. Floore (Texas Federation of Women's Clubs) to W. Goodrich Jones, January 29, 1921, Jones Papers; William A. Black, (Executive Secretary of Single Tax League) to W. Goodrich Jones, November 11, 1919, Jones Papers.

[26]Maxwell, "One Man's Legacy," discusses Jones early life and interest in nature and forestry.

[27]W. Goodrich Jones to Max Bentley (editor of the Houston *Chronicle*), February 20, 1921, Jones Papers; W. Goodrich Jones to Max Bentley, March 6, 1921, Jones Papers.

[28]I. G. Peters, "A Forest Policy for Texas," *Gulf Coast Lumberman*, II (January 15, 1915), 25, 27.

[29]Jones, "Campaigning for Forestry in Texas," 42-43.

[30]E. J. Kyle to J. G. Peters, November 1, 1914, Jones Papers; Jones, "Campaigning for Forestry in Texas," 42-43.

[31]Jones, "Campaigning for Forestry in Texas," 42-43.

[32]"W. Goodrich Jones of Texas," *American Forestry*, XXI (June, 1915), 739; John A. Haislet, "Texans Evolve a State Forestry Agency," *Texas Forests and Texans* (May-June, 1964), 6. The sources differ on the number of votes by which the bill passed in the House, some indicating six, others seven. The *House Journal* gives no report of the vote.

[33]Haislet, "Texans Evolve a State Forestry Agency," 6; "T. F. A.—50 Years of Continuous Service," *Gulf Coast Lumberman*, LII (February 15, 1964), 18; speech delivered by Jones entitled, "Forestry," Jones Papers.

[34]*Second Annual Report of the State Forester*, Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, Bulletin 8 (College Station, 1917), 3.

[35]Interview with Eric O. Siecke, December 8, 1971, Galveston, Texas; speech entitled "Forestry," Jones Papers; W. Goodrich Jones to John Henry Kirby, May 19, 1917, John Henry Kirby Papers (Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, Houston, Texas). Hereafter referred to as Kirby Papers.

[36]TFA letter to the Senators and Representatives of the 35th Legislature, February 19, 1917, Jones Papers; Jones, "Campaigning for Forestry in Texas," 43; W. Goodrich Jones to John Henry Kirby, May 19, 1917, Kirby Papers.

[37]W. Goodrich Jones to John Henry Kirby, May 19, 1917, Kirby Papers.

[38]W. Goodrich Jones to John Henry Kirby, May 19, 1917, Kirby Papers.

"State Forester Hands Out a Needed Roast," *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review*, XXVII (March 31, 1918), 16.

[40]"Forester Foster and the Legislative Committee," *Southern Industrial and Lumber Review*, XXVII (April 30, 1918), 11.

[41]B. E. Fernow, "Forestry and the War," *Journal of Forestry*, XVI (February, 1918), 149.

[42]J. B. Woods, "Industrial Forestry in the South and West: What Lessons Each Can Teach the Other," *Journal of Forestry*, XXVI (February, 1928), 216; Frank Heywood, "History of Industrial Forestry in the South," *The Colonel William B. Greeley Lectures in Industrial Forestry #2* (Seattle, 1958), 15.

[43]Harry T. Kendall, "The Lumberman's Attitude Toward Forestry," *Journal of Forestry*, XVII (October, 1919), 647-649.

[44]"Forestry and the Texas Citizens," Texas Forestry Association Circular dated 1919, Jones Papers.

[45]W. Goodrich Jones to Governor William P. Hobby, August 9, 1920, Jones Papers; W. Goodrich Jones to Governor William P. Hobby, September 22, 1920, Jones Papers.

[46]Dallas *Morning News*, December 18, 1920; "Propose Severance Tax on Lumber," *Gulf Coast Lumberman*, VIII (January 1, 1921), 69, 72.

[47]*Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Texas at the Regular Session of the 37th Legislature* (Austin, 1921), 219.

[48]James Boyd, "Fifty Years in the Southern Pine Industry," Part I, *Southern Lumberman*, CVL (December 15, 1931), 66.

[49]See for example "An Opinion on the Severance Tax," *Gulf Coast Lumberman*, IX (April 1, 1921), 17-18.

[50]Jack Dionne, "The Texas Forestry Association, the Texas Lumbermen and the Proposed Forestry Legislation," *Gulf Coast Lumberman*, IX (June 1, 1921), 68-70, 73; "An Opinion on the Severance Tax," 17-18; Galveston *News*, March 4, 1921.

[51]Dionne, "The Texas Forestry Association," 73.

[52]Houston *Chronicle*, March 6, 1921.

[53]"Forestry Legislation," editorial in *Farm and Ranch*, April 30, 1921, Jones Papers. Jones contended that traditionally the oil industry opposed any such tax on any industry for fear that oilmen too would be required to pay a similar tax. Nurserymen opposed only the section of the act enabling the state to sell seedlings at a nominal cost, because they feared the "unfair" competition would ruin their business.

[54]W. Goodrich Jones to Max Bentley, March 6, 1921, Jones Papers.

[55]W. Goodrich Jones to Max Bentley, February 20, 1921, Jones Papers.

[56]Letter written by W. Goodrich Jones dated February 22, 1921, Jones Papers.

[57]Tinsley, "The Progressive Movement in Texas," 319.

[58]W. Goodrich Jones to Governor Pat M. Neff, February 2, 1921, Jones Papers. A letter which Terrell wrote in 1918 in reply to a circular proposing an increase in the forestry appropriation confirms Jones' position. In the letter Terrell insisted that the Department of Forestry had wasted $10,000. "If a man did not have enough sense to plant trees on his land or to put out a fire to keep it from spreading to another's property, all of the advice that the paid agents of the government can give to such people is worthless." George B. Terrell to R. A. Gilliam, December 31, 1918, Jones Papers. The failure of the Texas Forestry Association and Department of Forestry to secure passage of the severance tax corresponds with the failure of Texas progressives to regulate profits on the extraction of oil and sulfur resources and to prevent these profits from filling the coffers of private individuals rather than accumulating in the state treasury for the benefit of all Texans. See Tinsley, "The Progressive Movement in Texas," 217.

[59]Dallas *Morning News*, September 6, 1922.

A PAPAL DELEGATE IN TEXAS
THE VISIT OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL SATOLLI IN 1896

by Raymond C. Mensing, Jr.

The appointment of the first Apostolic Delegate to the Catholic hierarchy of the United States in 1893 coincided with a period of virulent religious bigotry. In 1887 the American Protective Association, a notoriously nativist and anti-Catholic body, was established in Clinton, Iowa. Often referred to as the A.P.A., the organization concerned itself primarily with Catholic schools, their influence in society, and the question of government aid for such institutions.[1]

In the early 1890s when the A.P.A. reached the height of its influence, knowledgeable men in the American Catholic hierarchy believed that Roman authorities seriously considered the appointment of an Apostolic Delegate for the United States. The knowledge led to fears among many American bishops that such an appointment would further inflame the A.P.A. and intensify nativist and anti-Catholic sentiments throughout the country.[2] Fearful American archbishops, who met in late November, 1892, advised the Holy See that the appointment of an Apostolic Delegate would not be expedient at that particular time.[3]

In 1893 Pope Leo XIII, despite the advice of the American prelates, appointed Archbishop Francesco Satolli as Apostolic Delegate, and protest erupted in the United States. Henry Bowers, founder of the A.P.A., saw the appointment as an attempt by the Vatican to direct the enactment of a legislative program in the United States. Subsequent visits by the Archbishop to the principal American cities where he delivered addresses extolling the Catholic school system effected even more fears.[4] Uninformed Americans regarded Satolli as a Vice Pope. Bishop A. C. Coxe of the Episcopal Diocese of Western New York reflected such an attitude in a letter to the Archbishop dated May 30, 1894. Coxe's letter so perfectly reflected the sentiments of the A.P.A. that it appeared in full in *The A.P.A. Magazine* in September, 1896.[5] When Pope Leo XIII promoted Satolli to the College of Cardinals in 1895, the A.P.A. viewed the action as proof that the Delegate was a Vice Pope who would influence the future of America. An A.P.A. member in the State of Washington even pressed for the passage of a legislative resolution calling upon Congress to order Satolli's expulsion from the United States as a "menace to our free institutions."[6] Only when the new cardinal returned to Rome several months after his elevation did many Americans finally conclude that the allegations of the A.P.A. were groundless.[7]

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The turmoil surrounding his appointment must have dismayed Satolli, who was one of the most noted Thomists of the nineteenth century. He was born in Marsciano, Italy on July 21, 1839. He studied at the seminary in Perugia where he earned a doctorate and received ordination to the priesthood in the mid 1850s. With the election of Pope Leo XIII in 1878, Satolli came to Rome to assist in the revival of Thomistic studies, a cherished goal of the new pontiff. In subsequent years, Satolli served as Professor of Dogma at the Propaganda Roman Seminary, Rector of the Greek College, and President of the Academia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici, a training ground for future Vatican diplomats. While serving as Archbishop of Lepanto, Satolli became Apostolic Delegate to the United States. Less than three years after his appointment, he became a Cardinal on November 29, 1895.[8]

The elevation of an apostolic delegate or papal nuncio to the College of Cardinals normally entails the termination of the diplomatic assignment and effects a return to Rome for assignment to a position in the Curia. Cardinal Satolli anticipated becoming Prefect of the Congregation of Studies and Archpriest of the Lateran Bascilica. Despite custom, Cardinal Satolli remained in the United States until the fall of 1896 acting as pro-Delegate pending the arrival of his successor, Archbishop Sebastiano Martinelli. During his last months in the United States, Cardinal Satolli undertook a tour of various southern and western states in order to meet with the faithful and to facilitate the resolution of ecclesiastical difficulties in a few dioceses.[9]

Bishop Nicholas A. Gallagher of the Diocese of Galveston invited Cardinal Satolli to visit the see city. Father Alexis Orban, secretary to Cardinal Satolli, accepted the invitation on behalf of the Cardinal on February 3, 1896.[10] The Cardinal planned to be in New Orleans immediately prior to his visit in Galveston. The principal reason for Satolli's New Orleans visit was to preside over the opening of the Catholic Winter School, a type of Catholic Chautauqua. His presence countered that of Bishop John J. Keane of the Catholic University, a churchman under some suspicion because of his allegedly liberal sentiments.[11]

Prior to the Cardinal's departure from New Orleans on February 21, he received a petition from some laymen in Galveston requesting an audience with His Eminence during his stay in the city. They indicated that they wished to discuss "matters gravely affecting the prosperity of the Church in this diocese. . . ."[12] This was undoubtedly the first indication that the Cardinal's visit to Galveston would involve more than ceremonial formalities. Cardinal Satolli departed New Orleans as scheduled and changed trains in Houston. The Cardinal arrived in Galveston at 11:30 a.m., accompanied by a delegation of priests from

the Diocese of Galveston headed by the Vicar-General, Father J. B. Weimer. Bishop Gallagher entered the Cardinal's private car and escorted him to the station platform where a procession formed to conduct the members of the clergy to St. Mary's Cathedral.[13] The procession passed through streets lined with spectators, and, upon arrival at the Cathedral, Bishop Gallagher presented holy water and incense to the Cardinal and conducted him to the bishop's throne. Cardinal Satolli responded to Bishop Gallagher's welcoming address with a brief speech in English expressing his great love and admiration for the United States as well as gratitude for the friendly reception accorded him on his travels. The Cardinal took care to invoke God's blessings on both Catholics and non-Catholics. The speech was the first public address in English delivered by the Cardinal during his tenure in America.[14] At the conclusion of the formal ceremonies at the Cathedral, the Cardinal departed for visits to the convent of the Sisters of St. Dominic, St. Mary's Infirmary, St. Mary's Orphanage, and the Ursuline Convent where the students of the academy presented a brief program.[15]

On Sunday, Cardinal Satolli celebrated Solemn Pontifical Mass at the Cathedral. Even Father Orban, often a caustic observer, commented on the excellence of the music provided by the choir and orchestra. Following the Mass and the conclusion of the mid-day meal, the Cardinal attended a lengthy reception given in his honor at the Cathedral school. Approximately six thousand people arrived for the gathering and heard addresses of welcome by C. S. Ott on behalf of the laity and by Father Weimer on behalf of the clergy, the latter address being in Latin. At the conclusion of the welcoming remarks, the guests individually met the Cardinal. Many non-Catholics who wished to pay their respects to the Cardinal attended the reception. When the reception ended, Cardinal Satolli officiated at Vespers in the Cathedral at 7:00 p.m. whereupon he adjourned to Sacred Heart Church for an evening meal and entertainment provided by the students of St. Mary's University.[16]

The beauty of Sacred Heart Church, designed by Galveston architect Nicholas J. Clayton, so impressed the Cardinal that he remarked "Ecce Ecclesia" or "behold the Church."[17] The Jesuits entertained their guests with musical selections, speeches in English and Latin, and an elegant meal. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the evening was the presence of Rabbi Henry Cohen, the only non-Catholic guest. The Rabbi, one of the most revered clergymen in the history of Galveston, was a practitioner of ecumenism long before it became popular. At the conclusion of the meal, the Cardinal, also a man of generous spirit, invited Rabbi Cohen to deliver the benediction. Following prayers in English, Latin, and Hebrew, the Rabbi presented Cardinal Satolli with a small book that he assembled which consisted of quotations from the Talmud. Rabbi Cohen also made a brief speech in which he voiced his

admiration for everything noble and just and, as a consequence, his great respect for Pope Leo XIII and Cardinal Satolli. The Cardinal concluded the program by expressing his appreciation to the Rabbi for his presence and his hope that all men might be brothers in heart.[18]

The Cardinal arose early on Monday morning to offer Mass at the Ursuline Convent prior to leaving on the 7:30 a.m. train for San Antonio. Following Mass and the blessing of religious articles, Cardinal Satolli rode to the railroad station with Bishop Gallagher. A delegation of Galveston priests accompanied His Eminence on the train as far as the western limits of the Diocese of Galveston.[19]

Prior to his departure, Cardinal Satolli sought to resolve an ecclesiastical problem by obtaining a promise from Bishop Gallagher that he would re-open the Ursuline Chapel. The closing of the chapel in February, 1894 was one of the major grievances voiced against the Bishop. In fact, petitioners requested that he re-open the chapel on January 25, 1895.[20] A misunderstanding resulted because Bishop Gallagher's predecessor, Bishop C. M. Dubuis, encouraged the Ursulines to build a large school and chapel. The chapel would be a public oratory and funds from the collections would help defray expenses incurred by the sisters. Bishop Gallagher ordered the chapel closed in an effort to encourage attendance at the local parish churches. The Bishop's action caused much concern among Catholics and Protestants. Galvestonians of all faiths held the Ursulines in great esteem because of assistance provided stricken citizens during storms and yellow fever epidemics. In response to a request from a number of prominent laymen, Cardinal Satolli changed his schedule to provide for the Monday morning Mass at the Convent.[21]

Although Cardinal Satolli remained interested in the Ursuline problem and other difficulties in the Diocese of Galveston, he did not take any substantive action to secure a resolution until his return to Washington around the middle of March. His next concern was his visit to San Antonio where his host would be the newly installed Bishop John A. Forest. The Cardinal arrived in San Antonio at 4:30 p.m. Monday escorted by a committee of priests and laymen who boarded the train at the eastern limits of the diocese. A huge crowd greeted Cardinal Satolli at the station. Father H. Pefferkorn, Pastor of St. Joseph's Church, represented Bishop Forest. A procession moved from the depot through the Alamo Plaza to the Cathedral. Bishop Forest received Cardinal Satolli at the entrance and led him to the throne for a ceremonial welcome. The Bishop, speaking in French, welcomed the Cardinal to San Antonio and paid tribute to his piety and learning. Cardinal Satolli responded in Italian and expressed his admiration for the United States and stressed that moral progress must always accom-

pany material advancement. Later, the Cardinal and Bishop Forest joined various Catholic societies and proceeded to the Bishop's residence on Dwyer Avenue where Mr. Edward F. Dwyer, a prominent layman, delivered an address of welcome on behalf of the laity. Following Mr. Dwyer's talk, the Cardinal bestowed a blessing on the crowd and adjourned indoors for dinner. Bishop Peter Verdaguer, Vicar-Apostolic of Brownsville, joined Cardinal Satolli, Bishop Forest, and the clergy of San Antonio for the evening meal.[22]

Tuesday's activities began with 9:00 a.m. Mass in the Cathedral. Later, Cardinal Satolli worked on correspondence and, in the early afternoon, received the presidents of the Catholic organizations of the city. Together with Bishops Forest and Verdaguer, several priests, and the presidents of the Catholic societies, the Cardinal also visited the Alamo, some churches, and other Catholic institutions in the city.[23]

The evening reception reflected the multicultural climate of San Antonio. The Italian community called on the Cardinal, a Mexican band played, and the Liederkranz and other German singing societies provided entertainment. Cardinal Satolli made a brief speech in English wherein he expressed his appreciation for the entertainment and thanked the people of San Antonio for their hospitality.[24]

Cardinal Satolli departed San Antonio shortly before eight o'clock the following morning and rode for twenty-five hours by train to El Paso. Bishop Forest accompanied the Cardinal as far as Devil's River, a short distance to the west of Del Rio. In El Paso, the Cardinal visited briefly at a hospital maintained by the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, toured the city, and crossed the Rio Grande to Juarez prior to his departure shortly before noon. Cardinal Satolli visited points west including Denver and Cheyenne before his return to Washington on March 13.[25]

Although the Cardinal's visit to the Lone Star state involved ceremonial and social matters to a great extent, His Eminence maintained an interest in problems in the Diocese of Galveston and expressed his concern even before returning to Washington. While in Galveston, he obtained written and oral promises from Bishop Gallagher that the Ursuline Chapel would be re-opened. Furthermore, the Cardinal made the agreement known to the laity in Galveston.[26] Cardinal Satolli also asked Bishop Gallagher to respond to charges brought against his management of diocesan finances as well as his treatment of the clergy, religious, and laity of the Diocese of Galveston. The Cardinal and Bishop Gallagher agreed to a review of the material in the case by Archbishop Francis Janssens of New Orleans, metropolitan of the province of which Galveston was a part, for the purpose of effecting a solution. Cardinal Satolli assured the Archbishop that he would "approve whatever measures you may think best to take."[27]

Archbishop Janssens compiled a list of charges and questions for Bishop Gallagher's accusers to answer. The Archbishop wrote Mr. J. Z. H. Scott, a spokesman for the dissident laymen in Galveston, that he and his associates should be prepared to substantiate the charges in the near future.[28] Bishop Gallagher's accusers charged him with: 1. driving a number of priests out of the Diocese by his unkindness, 2. employing priests of arrogant dispositions to replace those who had left, 3. the new priests and the Bishop come from an area of the country where much prejudice exists against the people of the former Confederate states, 4. the Bishop addresses the people in an oppressive and offensive manner, 5. he maintains arbitrary regulations relative to mixed marriages, 6. he places hardships on Christian burial, 7. he deals spitefully with the Ursulines, 8. he incurrs heavy indebtedness for the Diocese as well as for the Cathedral parish, 9. he is in the habit of making large purchases of "wild lands," 10. he diverts funds to doubtful areas of investment, 11. he withholds funds given for designated purposes and uses them for other things, 12. he declines to repay a substantial amount of money borrowed from a diocesan community of nuns, 13. the same nuns are being deprived of a substantial investment, 14. he gives offense to virtually every adult in the Diocese. When he weighed the charges, Archbishop Janssens refused to entertain the final allegation on the basis that it was so vague as to be impossible to prove.[29]

When he began a formal investigation, Archbishop Janssens declined Bishop Gallagher's invitation to come to Galveston because a visit would give publicity to a matter that should be handled with the utmost discretion.[30] The Archbishop determined that no serious charges against Bishop Gallagher could be proved, that the Bishop was above reproach in regard to personal integrity, and that some problems did exist in the administration of the Diocese of Galveston that could be remedied by the adjustment of policies. Archbishop Janssens concluded that the good qualities of Bishop Dubuis's administration had been exaggerated by the accusers in contrast to the regime of Bishop Gallagher. The Archbishop noted that even J. Z. H. Scott agreed. With regard to the specific charges, the Archbishop ruled that: 1. Bishop Gallagher did not drive any priests out of the Diocese although some may have left because they found the Bishop cold and reserved, 2. there was no evidence to suggest that the Bishop filled places with unworthy priests, 3. the priests brought in by Bishop Gallagher did not entertain any prejudices against the people, 4. the Bishop had been too rigorous in his regulations concerning mixed marriages as a result of his inability to understand the people, 5. there appeared to be no valid complaints against diocesan cemetery regulations, 6. Bishop Gallagher was not guilty of injustices concerning finances although he had acted imprudently in increasing the Cathedral debt, 7. the Sisters of Charity of the

Incarnate Word had no complaint against the Bishop on matters of justice but merely wanted to have control over St. Mary's Orphan Asylum, 8. the Bishop appeared to favor the Dominican Nuns over the Ursulines, 9. the Bishop was cold and reserved by nature and not popular with the clergy or laity.[31]

At the conclusion of his investigation, Archbishop Janssens wrote Bishop Gallagher recommending changes in diocesan administration and informing him that Cardinal Satolli would have the option of modifying or canceling the proposals. In view of the Cardinal's prior pledge to accept the Archbishop's recommendations, any changes would be most unlikely. The essential suggestions to Bishop Gallagher were: 1. to install in the rectorship of the Cathedral a priest who would enjoy the confidence of the Bishop and the members of the parish and who would be able to reduce the Cathedral debt, 2. to appoint a chaplain and confessor for the Dominican Nuns so that the Bishop would no longer give the appearance of favoritism by serving in that capacity, 3. to open the Ursuline Chapel, 4. to permit the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word to maintain full administration of St. Mary's Orphan Asylum and to conduct fund raising projects as in former times, 5. to confer with the diocesan Board of Consultors in weighty matters, 6. to be more open and friendly with the Ursulines and with the clergy and laity in general.[32]

Bishop Gallagher moved with reasonable speed to implement the suggestions. He even anticipated the recommendations in some areas and moved to solve the problems before hearing from Archbishop Janssens. While the investigation was still in progress, Bishop Gallagher began to consult more with his priests and to overcome his cold, reserved manner.[33] The Bishop sought to resolve problems connected with the Cathedral by appointing Father James M. Kirwin to the rectorship of the Cathedral parish on August 15, 1896. The appointment was an unusual one since Father Kirwin was a very junior member of the diocesan clergy. The unique appointment was a happy one since Father Kirwin distinguished himself as a public-spirited citizen of the City of Galveston during the almost thirty years of his rectorship and was one of the most beloved priests in the history of the Church in Galveston.[34] With respect to the chaplaincy of the Dominican Nuns, Bishop Gallagher was not as quick to act on the Archbishop's recommendations, for he continued to serve as chaplain to the community until some time in 1898.[35]

The question of the status of the Ursuline Chapel remained the most difficult matter to resolve. Cardinal Satolli refrained from issuing an immediate order requiring the opening of the chapel during his visit to Galveston because of his respect for Bishop Gallagher's authority and because of his conviction that the matter would soon be resolved by the

Bishop.[36] Bishop Gallagher later expressed reluctance to open the chapel in the present tense climate and while an investigation was in progress for fear that it would compromise his authority. At the same time, the Bishop announced his willingness to re-open the Ursuline Chapel should Cardinal Satolli issue a specific command to that effect.[37] Although Cardinal Satolli was reluctant to issue a direct order concerning the Ursuline Chapel, he did insist on the re-opening of the chapel because of the principles of justice, the promise of the Bishop, and the Cardinal's commitment in the matter.[38] The Cardinal's insistence and the Bishop's realization of the importance of his promise finally produced the desired result thereby resolving the most difficult portion of the problem relative to the Diocese of Galveston.[39]

The visit of Cardinal Satolli to Texas reveals some important things about the first Apostolic Delegate to the American Church. The uniformly cordial reception accorded the Cardinal suggests that his openness, tact, and often-expressed admiration for American life and institutions had overcome A.P.A.-type bigotry. The Cardinal's friendly relations with non-Catholics and his judicious handling of problems in the Diocese of Galveston indicate that Satolli was an able diplomat well qualified for the position of Apostolic Delegate. In dealing with problems in the Diocese of Galveston, he demonstrated concern for the principles of justice, a keen awareness of the interests of many of the laity, and a healthy respect for the position of the diocesan bishop. The Cardinal's demonstrated ability to resolve ecclesiastical problems without taking a heavy-handed approach must have allayed the misgivings voiced at the time of his appointment. The Galveston *Daily News* described perfectly the Cardinal's diplomatic aplomb when it described Satolli as a man who embodied ". . . dignity without pomp; cordiality without effusiveness; religion without fanaticism."[40]

NOTES

[1]Theodore Roemer, *The Catholic Church in the United States* (St. Louis, 1950), 306-07.

[2]Roemer, *Catholic Church*, 306.

[3]John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921*, 2 volumes (Milwaukee, 1921), II, 644.

[4]Michael Williams, *The Shadow of the Pope* (New York and London, 1932), 98-99.

[5]Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1943), 23-24.

[6]Myers, *History of Bigotry*, 237.

[7]Myers, *History of Bigotry*, 245.

[8]Alexis Orban, S.S., "Tour of His Eminence Cardinal Francesco Satolli through the United States from February 12 to March 13, 1896," translated by Colman Barry, O.S.B., *Historical Records and Studies*, XLIII, 27. Father Orban

was the Cardinal's secretary and accompanied him on his journey. *Historical Records and Studies* is published annually by the Catholic Historical Society of New York.

[9]Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 27.

[10]Catholic Archives of Texas, Letter of Rev. Alexis Orban, S.S. to Rt. Rev. Nicholas A. Gallagher, February 3, 1896. Bishop Gallagher issued his invitation on January 29. Bishop Gallagher became Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Galveston in 1882, succeeded to the see in 1892, and died in 1918. See *Official Catholic Directory* (1973), 314.

[11]Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 46.

[12]Catholic Archives of Texas, Petition of Catholic Laymen of Galveston to Cardinal Satolli, February 15, 1896. The petition bore the signature of J.Z.H. Scott of the law firm of Scott, Levi & Smith and four other individuals.

[13]Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 49.

[14]*The Southern Messenger,* February 27, 1896 and the Galveston *Daily News,* February 24, 1896.

[15]Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 51-52.

[16]Galveston *Daily News,* February 24, 1896, St. Mary's University, commonly known as the "Jesuit College," was staffed by the Jesuit Fathers who also had charge of Sacred Heart Church.

[17]Robert C. Giles, *Changing Times, the Story of the Diocese of Galveston-Houston in Commemoration of its Founding* (Houston, 1972), 102-03. The church visited by Cardinal Satolli was destroyed in the 1900 storm and replaced by the present structure.

[18]Galveston *Daily News,* February 24, 1896 and Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 52-54. Rabbi Henry Cohen was spiritual leader of Temple B'nai Israel in Galveston 1888-1950. He died in 1952.

[19]Galveston *Daily News,* February 25, 1896 and Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 54.

[20]Catholic Archives of Texas, Petition of Laity to Bishop Gallagher, January 25, 1895.

[21]Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 50-51 & 54. Bishop C. M. Dubuis was Bishop of Galveston 1862-1892, *The Official Catholic Directory* (1968), 299.

[22]Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 54-55 and *The Southern Messenger,* February 27, 1896. Bishop Verdaguer served as Vicar-Apostolic of Brownsville 1890-1911. The Vicariate Apostolic of Brownsville was the predecessor of the Diocese of Corpus Christi created in 1912, *Official Catholic Directory* (1968), 200.

[23]*The Southern Messenger,* February 27, 1896.

[24]*The Southern Messenger,* February 27, 1896.

[25]*The Southern Messenger,* March 5, 1896. Orban, "Tour of His Eminence," 60-64 & 78-79.

[26]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of His Eminence Francesco Cardinal Satolli to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, March 30, 1896.

[27]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of His Eminence Francesco Cardinal Satolli to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, February 25, 1896 and Satolli to Janssens March 30, 1896. Francis Janssens was Archbishop of New Orleans 1888-1897, *Official Catholic Directory* (1968), 515.

[48]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Mr. J.Z.H. Scott to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, April 13, 1896. In his letter Mr. Scott acknowledged the Archbishop's letter of April 10.

[49]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, "Charges and Questions to be "Answered." This document (undated) was apparently a worksheet used by Archbishop Janssens.

[50]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Rev. Thomas Hennessy to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, April 16, 1896. Father Hennessy was pastor of Annunciation Church in Houston and a member of the diocesan Board of Consultors, *Official Catholic Directory* (1896), 310-311.

[51]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Findings and Recommendations of Archbishop Janssens (undated). The document was apparently a rough draft of a letter of Cardinal Satolli. Archbishop Janssens' view regarding lack of prejudice on the part of the clergy was confirmed by Father Thomas Hennessy, Hennessy to Janssens, April 16, 1896. Archbishop Janssens' contention that the charges against Bishop Gallagher were lacking in substance was confirmed by Father Hennessy, Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Rev. Thomas Hennessy to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, April 23, 1896.

[52]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Most Rev. Francis Janssens to Rt. Rev. Nicholas A. Gallagher, June 5, 1896.

[53]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Rev. Thomas Hennessy to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, April 21, 1896, Hennessy to Janssens, April 23, 1896.

[54]Giles, *Changing Times*, 41-42.

[55]*Official Catholic Directory* (1899), 285. Since the Bishop was listed as chaplain in the *Official Catholic Directory* for 1898 (278) but not in the 1899 *Directory*, it must be assumed that the change was made some time in 1898.

[56]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Rev. Alexis Orban, S.S. to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, April 5, 1896.

[57]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Rt. Rev. Nicholas A. Gallagher to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, April 8, 1896 and May 6, 1896.

[58]Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, Letter of Rev. Alexis Orban, S.S. to Most Rev. Francis Janssens, May 3, 1896.

[59]Mary I. Drees, O.S.U., Ursulines of Galveston Women of Faith (no date), 50, unpublished manuscript, Rosenberg Library, Galveston. The author does not provide a specific date for the re-opening of the Ursuline Chapel.

[60]Galveston *Daily News*, February 25, 1896.

ONE MAN'S WAR: CAPTAIN JOSEPH H. BRUTON, 1861-1865

by Douglas Hale

Nothing like the Civil War has ever happened to the American people, before or since. In its extent, duration, cost in lives and property, and the lasting enmities engendered, it was more like the hideous conflicts of the twentieth century than the limited wars of Europe in its own time. Throughout the South, the war slaughtered many of the best men the land had produced, destroyed a modest prosperity so painfully achieved, disrupted families, and caused endless suffering. Like their neighbors in Nacogdoches County, Texas, Joseph Bruton and his wife Ellen were swept up in this vicious whirlwind; they never knew where it would take them for four long and bloody years. Every day was filled with uncertainty and ominous prospects. All they could do was wait, live as normally as possible, and hope. As Joseph gravely observed to his wife on more than one occasion, "Though it is likely we may never see each other again on earth let us live so that we meet in heaven."[1] How the Captain and his family met the challenge of those tragic times is the subject of this essay.

Nobody really planned for the war to develop as it did; it just seemed to grow spontaneously into a monstrous horror. Following the election of Abraham Lincoln in November, 1860, secessionist hysteria spread across Texas as it had through the other southern states. Though Governor Sam Houston urged calm moderation and the perpetuation of the Union, other political leaders demanded a special convention to rule on the question of secession. Dominated by radical opinion and inflammed by reckless rhetoric, the convention voted to secede from the Union on February 1, 1861, by a vote of 166 to 8. Three weeks later, this momentous decision was ratified by a general referendum of the people, who voted overwhelmingly—46,129 to 14,697—to secede.

Within a month Texas had formally joined the Confederacy. The Secession Convention dismissed the Unionist Houston and named Lieutenant Governor Edward Clark in his place. After news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached him late in April, 1861, Clark began the haphazard and disjointed process of mobilization for defense. By September, Texas had already organized ten regiments of volunteers, and they were placed at the service of the Confederacy. By the end of the war, some 88,000 Texans (96% of the white male population of military age) would serve the armies of the South.[2]

Among the first military units created in that frenzied spring were irregular companies or defense patrols which sprang up spontaneously

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all over the state. On May 22, 1861, the County Court of Nacogdoches County commissioned Joseph Bruton as captain of his precinct patrol and placed twelve of his neighbors under his command. Bruton's military career had begun. He was already thirty-four years old and had a wife and four children to support. He was certainly neither a war lover nor a fanatic exponent of the "Glorious Cause." Bruton was simply a moderately prosperous farmer, a slave owner, and a natural leader in the Linn Flat community. The war had caught him.[4]

But his real military service did not begin until the following spring. At the beginning of 1862, most of the 25,000 Texans that had so far volunteered were scattered about in small units apart from any general organizational structure. Between January and May, the Confederacy created a regional command, the Trans-Mississippi Department, regularized recruitment and supply, mustered state units into Confederate service, and imposed military conscription. As part of this massive mobilization, Bruton enlisted in Company H of the 17th Texas Cavalry on March 10, 1862. This regiment, consisting of about a thousand men, marched to Shreveport, Louisiana, where it joined others charged with the task of defending Arkansas and Louisiana from Federal invasion.[5]

The security of these two states was contingent upon a much larger consideration: who would control the Mississippi River? Though the leaders of the Union had been generally devoid of a grand strategy at the beginning of the war, the significance of the great waterway was so patently obvious that it could not escape even their myopic gaze. By employing their naval superiority to capture and control the river, the Yankees could split the South in two and at the same time give the upper Midwest an outlet to the Gulf for its shipping. Control of the Mississippi necessarily involved the conquest of a number of its tributaries in Arkansas and Louisiana. The first major step toward gaining command of the river was Admiral Farragut's bold capture of New Orleans in April, 1862. Another fourteen months of hard campaigning faced the Union forces, however, before they could unlock the gates of the Mississippi.

Joseph Bruton's first military experiences came as the result of this overriding strategic goal of the North. In the spring of 1862, it appeared that Arkansas and Louisiana would soon inevitably fall to the Yankee enemy, since most of the defenders of the region had been transferred across the Mississippi to the more important theaters of operation in the East. The valley of the Arkansas River and the road to Little Rock seemed open to the Union forces in May, 1862. Into this vacuum stepped Confederate Major General T. C. Hindman. He recruited thousands of fresh troops, requisitioned supplies, enforced military conscription, declared martial law, and shot deserters. Soon

Joseph Henry Bruton
1826-c.1876

Mary Ellen Bruton
1831-1897

he had gathered about his headquarters at Little Rock a formidable force of twenty thousand men to repel the expected invaders.[5]

The 17th Texas Regiment was part of this hasty mobilization of forces to save Arkansas. Bruton rode north from Shreveport through the rain-soaked, impoverished countryside around Camden, Arkansas, and arrived at his camp near Little Rock on May 20. It had been a toilsome ordeal, the first of many to come. Measles struck down scores from his regiment, and the sick and dying young men were strung out all along the line of march. Food and forage were miserable. Bitter dissension had broken out among the troops. The new conscription law had just taken effect, and men who had volunteered for a year now found themselves bound to the service for three years or the duration of the war. The proud Texans were told they would soon lose their horses: the Confederacy needed infantry, and Bruton's company was among those cavalry units ordered to be dismounted. Looming over all was a strong Federal army only thirty-five miles away whose attack was anticipated daily.[6]

In order to resolve some of these problems, the 17th Regiment was reorganized at Little Rock. The regimental commander resigned, and Colonel James R. Taylor, a graduate of Larissa College, was elected to take his place. Bruton got a new company commander as well, and even entered the electoral contest himself. At least as an officer he might be able to keep his horse. But, as he wrote Ellen,

> "I run for first Lewtenant and was beet one vote by F. L. McKnight. Capt. White used his in fluence for McKnight. Their was about 30 of our boys behind sick was what beet me."[7]

The concentration of Rebel troops around the Arkansas capital effectively stalled the Federal advance against Little Rock. After several bloody skirmishes, the Yankees elected to withdraw eastward to Helena instead, where they would enjoy the support of their gunboats on the Mississippi. The most important of these encounters took place at Cache Bayou on July 6 and 7, when the Confederates tried to hold the crossing against the retreating Union army. The 17th Regiment was sent against the rear of the Federal troops but never got into action, since the Yankees succeeded in brushing aside the Rebel holding force and arrived safely at Helena on July 13, 1862.[8]

For the next four months, central Arkansas remained relatively quiet. The Texans regretfully sent their horses home, went into garrison duty at Camp Hope in the wooded hill country about twenty-five miles northeast of Little Rock, and spent their days in tedious infantry drill and tending the sick. The commander of H Company resigned, and Bruton, more politically successful this time, was elected to take his place on July 23, 1862.[9]

Being a captain did not alter Bruton's opinion of the army and the war very much, though he retained his usual good nature throughout. As he wrote his wife, "I am not happy by no means but I try to make the best of it I can."[10] He was not unduly impressed by the trappings of rank or the imperatives of military protocol, but he was a conscientious officer, especially where the welfare of his men was concerned. When Brigadier General H. E. McCulloch, his divisional commander, inspected his company, Captain Bruton reported to Ellen that

> He is a verry plain comon looking man. In fact if you were going out to kill a general you would never kill him if you did not know him. He lectured the captains each for some time. He caused me to shed tears in relating to me my duty towards the men. He is verry religious in all his lectures. He cautioned me about taking care of the young men [in] particular.[11]

For Bruton, being an officer not only carried with it the heavy responsibility for other men's lives. It also brought such petty annoyances as vainly trying to get a decent uniform from Richmond, when there was no cloth to be had, or a pair of boots from Nacogdoches, when not even the best of friends could be trusted to deliver such precious articles as boots.

Throughout it all, however, his main thoughts and concerns were those of home. "Ellen," he wrote, "you can not amagion how I want to see you and the children."[12]

> The only satisfaction I see is reading your letters & the hope of meeting you and the children again at home. It does seem to me that those persons who are permitted to stay at home with their families ought to bee the happyest people of the world. I acknowledge that I never new until now how happy I ought to have been when permitted to stay at home with my family, but [for us] that live to get home it will probably be an advantage too.[13]

Joseph Bruton knew that the war was no easier for his wife than it was for him. Not the least of Ellen's "grief and troubles" came from keeping the farm going while her husband was away. Fortunately, prior to his departure, the Captain had engaged a tenant, Mr. Corley, who with his family worked the place for one-fifth of the crop and $100 in cash per year. Corley's services had become so necessary that by October Bruton was willing to pay "almost any price"—up to a dollar a day—to keep him on.[14] He also relied upon his four adult slaves to do their part in maintaining an orderly operation. Joseph advised his wife when to sell corn and mules, what to do about a saddle and pony for his eldest daughter, Bettie, and requested a photograph of his two youngest children, Joella and Jesse. He frequently closed his letters with the warm valediction: "Kiss the children for me and except one for yourself. Tell the negroes howdy for me."[15]

While the Little Rock front remained quiet during the fall, important battles were being fought to both the east and the west. In October, 1862, Grant's victory at Corinth, Mississippi, prepared the way for his campaign against Vicksburg. Shortly thereafter, Federal successes at Cane Hill and Prairie Grove in northwestern Arkansas forced a Confederate withdrawal south to Little Rock. Situated about half way between these two points of conflict, Bruton's division played no role in either of them, and his regiment was reduced to futile and pointless maneuvering. On Oct. 1, the 17th Texas was abruptly dispatched to the east in the middle of the night. From their garrison at Camp Hope, the sore-footed Texans slogged sixty-five miles through the rain to Clarendon, Arkansas, remained there a few days, and then marched back.[14] All Bruton derived from this exercise was a chronic case of diarrhea. "I never saw as much water on the ground in my life," he complained. "We traveled all day in water some times over knee deep . . . We do not no why we went their nor why we came back."[15]

At the end of 1862 their mission became much clearer. Grant launched his eight-months-long campaign down the Mississippi against Vicksburg, the last major Confederate stronghold on the river. The Rebel troops in Arkansas and Louisiana were called upon to help frustrate Grant's plans. Late in November, their commander shipped several regiments, including the 17th Texas Dismounted Cavalry, from their garrison near Little Rock 117 miles down the Arkansas River to Arkansas Post. Founded by the French in 1686, this village was the oldest European settlement in the state. It lay only about twenty-five miles upriver from the confluence of the Arkansas with the Mississippi.

On the river bank below the village, the Rebels had constructed a formidable redoubt which they dubbed Fort Hindman. It consisted of a square rampart of heavy timber and earthworks one hundred yards on a side. The parapets were eighteen feet high, and from its casemates two nine-inch guns and one eight-inch gun commanded the river, as did more than a dozen lighter pieces of artillery. Fort Hindman was intended as a strongpoint from which Rebel forces could sally forth to interdict Yankee shipping on the Mississippi.[16]

With the newly arrived Texans, the garrison of the fortress consisted of about five thousand men under the command of Brigadier General Thomas J. Churchill. The troops in Bruton's regiment set about digging infantry entrenchments in the mud flats around the fort and fitting up cabins for their winter quarters. Conditions were rugged, illness was rife, and the troops were restive. One observed sourly that "This country was never made . . . for white people to live in; nothing but frogs and craw fish can live here long . . . I don't think the Yankees would have it if they could get it."[17]

He was wrong. No sooner had the men at Fort Hindman attracted the enemy's attention than he attacked them in overwhelming force. On Christmas Day, Rebel scouts from the fort had captured the Yankee steamer *Blue Wing* on the nearby Mississippi and brought it back to their redoubt. To their delight, they discovered that this vessel was carrying not only ammunition, which they needed, but also flour, coffee, salt, apples, and whiskey, which considerably brightened their cheerless Christmas. At about the same time, Major General William T. Sherman had made an unsuccessful attack on Vicksburg. He had subsequently reembarked the 32,000 troops in his assault force on their transports and withdrew up river to await further orders. Early in January, 1863, Brigadier General John A. McClernand came into temporary command of these men. Having no other immediate employment for them, he resolved to use his formidable force to capture Fort Hindman and thus eliminate the threat it posed to federal shipping on the Mississippi.

McClernand steamed up the Arkansas and on January 10, 1863, opened a devastating bombardment on the fort from his three ironclads and six gunboats. Simultaneously, thirty thousand Yankees descended from their transports and surrounded the Rebel infantry dug in around the redoubt. The result was a military disaster for the South. General Churchill's superior had ordered him "to hold out till help arrived or until all dead." After a four-hour bombardment on the eleventh, however, Fort Hindman was a shambles. The boys in the rifle pits saw themselves surrounded by a host of Yankees that covered the ground. Some of the Rebel defenders began showing the white flag, and to his mortification, Churchill had no recourse but surrender. The Confederates lost only sixty killed, but 4791 men were taken captive by the North.[20]

Captain Bruton and his company were now prisoners of war. Normally, they would have been shipped down to Vicksburg for prisoner exchange. Since Grant was even then besieging the place, however, this would be patently absurd. Moreover, the Confederate president had threatened to take punitive action against captured Union officers, and the routine process of exchange had broken down. Instead, the Yankees first shipped their prisoners to St. Louis and confined the men to their transports on Arsenal Island. At the end of January, the Union officials interned the 450 officers from Fort Hindman at Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio, while the enlisted men were distributed among other camps.

Conditions at Camp Chase were harsh and hazardous that winter. Many Confederate officers died from smallpox and pneumonia. Their captors confiscated the food and clothing parcels they received and deprived them of blankets, personal articles, and money. All "superfluous" clothing was literally stripped from their backs prior to their

transfer to the east for exchange. By the middle of May, 1863, the officers and men of the 17th Texas who survived the ordeal had been exchanged at the transfer point near Petersburg, Virginia, and were on their way back home. Bruton had been lucky: after only three days in the military hospital at Richmond, he rejoined his command and was furloughed back to Texas.[5]

The war still had two more bloody years to go, however. In June what was left of Captain Bruton's regiment reassembled in East Texas and marched to Shreveport, headquarters of Lieutenant General Edmond Kirby Smith, Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department. The fate and function of his forces were thrown into grave uncertainty a few weeks later. In July, 1863, Vicksburg and Port Hudson fell to Grant's armies, and control of the Mississippi passed to the North. Now Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas were cut off from their sister states and threatened by invasion at many points. Kirby Smith could not know from which direction the major Federal thrust would come. Little Rock fell to the Union forces in September, but the main danger seemed to lie to the south, where Major General Nathaniel B. Banks, commander of the Department of the Gulf, was assemblying an army at New Orleans which might cut across Louisiana and Texas at any time. In September, 1863, Banks confirmed this threat by his abortive attempt to invade Texas via Sabine Pass. Under the circumstances, Kirby Smith could merely reorganize and strengthen his command in northern Louisiana and hold the bulk of it in readiness until the Union commander revealed his hand.

As part of this effort at reorganization, on July 1, General Kirby Smith took the remnants of those seven Texas regiments which had been overwhelmed at Arkansas Post—soldiers of the 15th, 17th, 18th, 24th, and 25th Cavalry and the 6th and 10th Infantry Regiments—and combined them into the 17th Consolidated Regiment, Texas Dismounted Cavalry. Bruton's former colonel, James R. Taylor, assumed command of the unit, while Bruton himself was named captain in charge of Company G. Kirby Smith then ordered the 17th to Alexandria, Louisiana, where on October 13, 1863, it joined five other Texas regiments to form a brigade under Brigadier General Camille Armand Jules Marie, Prince de Polignac.

The Texans called their unlikely new commander "Polecat." Of impeccable aristocratic lineage, he was the son of the last premier of King Charles X of France. Having served in the Crimean War, the Frenchman was in Central America when the Civil War began and elected to commit his military training and experience to the side of the South. His brigade was merged with the Army of Western Louisiana, Major General Richard Taylor, commanding. Since the fall of 1863

was comparatively quiet in his sector, Polignac drilled his troops and directed his energies to the problems of discipline and supply. During the winter, the brigade ranged through the bayou country between Alexandria and Monroe, Louisiana, held the line along the Ouachita River, and launched occasional raids against Federal gunboats and supply depots as far east as the Mississippi.[22]

Thus, on the first day of 1864, Captain Joseph Bruton found himself at Camp Allen, near Monroe, Louisiana. All things considered, it was a good day. The weather was cool and clear, the land was high and dry, and provisions were adequate. He had only recently returned from a long leave at home. As a New Year's treat, he had enjoyed a special dinner: "a pot of boiled peas and bacon and a potatoe pudding." As he admitted to his wife, "so far as living is conserned we are doing well."[23]

But the dull, empty pang of homesickness was still there. "Today has been a verry lonesome day to me," he wrote. "Not much doing and when that [is] the case I am studieing about you and the children."[24] There were more practical concerns for home as well. With the draft snatching up every able-bodied man, Bruton had lost his former tenant. Now the new man, Mr. Weatherly, seemed about to be conscripted too. The Captain owed $500.00 on the farm and needed to sell his corn crop to raise the money. Were the livestock properly cared for? Were all the fences falling down? Bruton had brought Tom, his Negro manservant, back to camp with him. Tom's wife belonged to a neighboring farmer. The Captain, desiring to keep Tom and his wife together, was willing to trade four hundred acres of his land for her. Could Ellen handle all these complex responsibilities alone?[25] She had to, for events in the spring of 1864 made it impossible for her husband to come home for almost a year.

These events revolved around the invasion of Texas. From the very beginning of the war, the Union high command had recognized the obvious strategic significance of such a move. At one stroke, the North could encourage Unionist sentiment in the Lone Star State, detach it from the Confederacy, and win its cotton for the merchants of New York and the mills of New England. But the conquest of the Mississippi came to assume a higher priority in Washington, and the Texas campaign was postponed. Only after July, 1863, with the Mississippi in their hands, could the Federals revive their early plans for Texas.

They envisaged a two-pronged attack on northeast Texas. General Banks at New Orleans was ordered to march his 30,000 Union troops up the Red River from Alexandria through Natchitoches and Shreveport into Texas. Simultaneously, Major General Frederick Steele, the Federal commander in Arkansas, had instructions to advance his army toward

Shreveport and thus provide the second arm of the Yankee thrust into Texas.

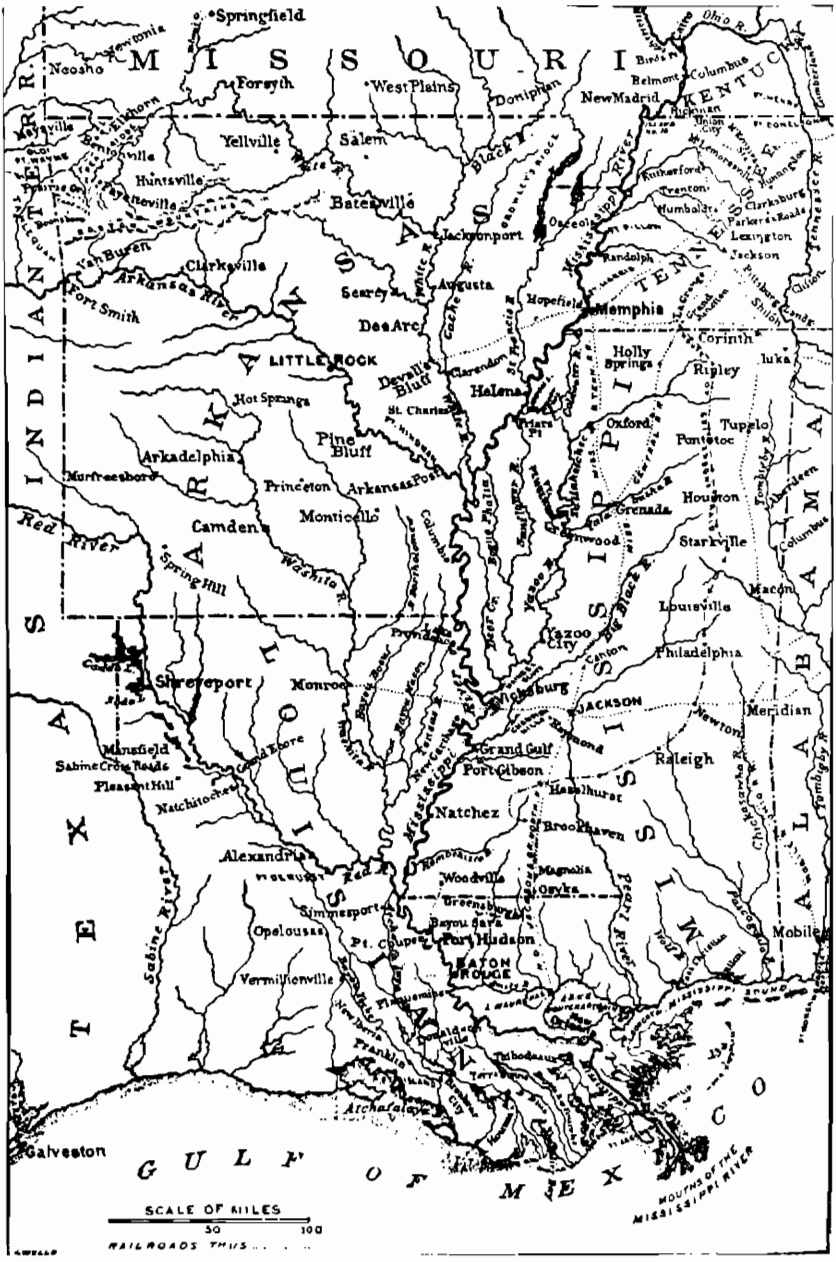
Since Banks depended upon the support of thirteen ironclads and some forty-five other vessels of the U.S. Navy, he had to wait until the spring of 1864 for enough water in the Red River to launch his campaign. Finally, on March 12, the drive on Texas got underway. It represented one of the major strategic goals of the Union for 1864, and it should have succeeded. The South was nearing the end of its resources; the North predicted a quick victory. Bank's chief adversary, General Kirby Smith, was well aware of his enemy's intention. At Shreveport he faced two opposing armies, one approaching from the north, the other from the south. His objective, therefore, was to defeat these forces in detail before they could be joined in northern Louisiana. Kirby Smith therefore dispatched General Richard Taylor, with an army of 12,500 men, to halt Banks' invasion up the Red River. He himself stood ready to repel the army of Steele marching down from Arkansas.[30]

Polignac's Brigade, to which Bruton's regiment was assigned, played a large role in Taylor's plans. On March 9, the general ordered the brigade to pull back from the Ouachita to Alexandria to meet Banks' attack up the Red River. Polignac's force, harrassing the Yankees constantly, withdrew slowly ahead of Banks' advance from March 14 to April 7, until they joined Taylor's main army three miles south of Mansfield, Louisiana. Here Taylor chose to make his stand.

Having retreated for almost a month, Captain Bruton was spoiling for a fight. He begged his regimental commander to allow him to lead his boys into action. But Bruton's company was plagued by one of the most persistent and pervasive deficiencies in the Confederate forces: many of the men had no arms and had consequently never been drilled in their use. They could only wait and hope that the capture of Union weapons would give them the wherewithal to defend themselves. Because it was still undrilled and unarmed, Company G was ordered to remain behind to guard the supply wagons when the regiment moved into action the next day.[31] Thus Bruton became a witness but not a participant in the Battle of Mansfield on April 8, 1864.

He watched as his brigade swept across the field under murderous fire in the first great Rebel charge late in the afternoon. Banks' army was stunned, then staggered by the fury of the attack. A Federal brigade was outflanked; the Confederates captured large numbers of prisoners. The Yankee line broke, and their retreat turned into a disorganized flight from the battlefield. As night closed in, the Confederates broke off their pursuit about three miles to the south.

Elated by his victory, Taylor resolved to deliver a death blow to his retreating enemy the next day. Twelve miles down the road, the



Campaigns of the Mississippi Valley.

Rebels caught up with Banks' army at Pleasant Hill. But this time the Federal troops held their own, repulsed Taylor's repeated charges with heavy losses, and covered their retreat to the south.[14] Once again Bruton was denied his fight. On the morning of April 9, he marched his company into the front line. But his troops were still without arms or ammunition, so the Captain had to countermarch his men to the rear in order to draw their weapons from captured supplies. By the time Company G returned to Pleasant Hill, night had fallen and both sides were breaking off the engagement. Bruton's company had marched twenty-eight miles that day and had never gotten in on the fight. It was just as well.

Their view of the aftermath of battle subdued considerably the spirit of Bruton's men. "My boys was verry anxious to go into the first fight," he reported.

> But the next morning when we marched through the battle field, the dead still on the field, it seem[ed to] strike them verry sensable. They did not say much more about not being allowed to go in the day before. But still when we wear going on the field that evening they stood it verry well.[15]

Casualties were heavy during the two days of combat. The 17th Texas alone lost twenty-three killed and forty-five wounded. Among the dead were Bruton's divisional commander, his regimental commander, and his regimental executive officer.[16]

General Taylor was resolved to pursue and destroy the disorganized Federal forces as they withdrew to the south and achieve thereby a notable Confederate victory. But at the critical moment, on April 10, Kirby Smith ordered Taylor to break off pursuit and bring the main body of his troops against Steele, advancing through southern Arkansas toward Shreveport. By April 16, Steele's army of 10,400 had reached Camden. After two sharp engagements with the Rebel defenders, however, the Union general was persuaded to withdraw back to Little Rock. At Jenkins' Ferry, on April 30, the pursuing Confederates caught up with their enemy. In an appalling slaughter in the bogs and mire, 1700 men were killed and wounded that day. The Yankees were unable to hold their ground; the Rebels were too weak to give chase.

It was much the same story on the Red River. Banks withdrew slowly down the river toward its confluence with the Mississippi. At every bend of the stream, abnormally low water threatened to strand his splendid little fleet of gunboats, and it proved an agonizing and costly task to drag them out over the shallows. Polignac, who had succeeded to a divisional command, was detached to pursue them, harrass them, and hold them, if possible. Company G of the 17th Regiment, now stiffened by captured Yankee equipment, was part of his command.

Step by step, the Union army retreated through Natchitoches, Alexandria, and Simmesport, while Bruton's regiment blocked, ambushed, and harrassed it at every opportunity. But the Rebel force was too small to inflict a decisive defeat and by May 20, Banks had slipped away to the Mississippi and the protection of the U.S. Navy.[31]

He left utter ruin and desolation in his wake. The northern troops systematically burned villages, farms, and crops wherever they could reach them. As usual, those who suffered most were the blacks. Hundreds of Negroes had taken refuge with Banks' army in its advance, rejoicing that the "Linkum gunboats" had come to liberate them. Now, with the Federal troops in retreat, they became helpless refugees, crushed between the armies. A Union officer recorded one vignette which summed up the hopelessness of their plight:

> One wagon contained a half-dozen Negro babies, of assorted sizes, belonging to the colored Americans gathered to us since we started, which had been left there, stuck in the slough, drawn there by the feeblest of all possible mules, that was just executing his last drowning kick as we waded by.[32]

On May 26, a Federal transport loaded with about 175 Negro refugees was ambushed by the Rebels. A Confederate shell burst its boiler, and the steam scalded to death a hundred of them within minutes. All but three others died within the day.[33]

Blacks serving in the Union armies could expect little mercy if captured by the Rebels. A courier in Bruton's brigade remembered "a dead negro in the road, in Yankee uniform, over whom a hundred waggons have rolled. He is mangled until he has scarcely any resemblance of the human shape."[34] And in the wake of the Union retreat, Captain Bruton himself stumbled upon this grisly scene:

> Late after the last fight the Yanks left a good many of their sick Negros in the woods—soldiers. Our boys found some of them. They said they had bin their 7 or 8 days without seeing any person. They [had] a quantity of maggets on them. Some had small pox. They were killed. Some the boys are taking care of and trying to save.[35]

Such grim and futile consequences were typical of the Red River Campaign in its entirety. The Union had squandered 8162 men; the Rebels lost 6575. It was a costly, humiliating failure for both sides. The inability of the Union generals to unite their forces before Shreveport and conquer Texas sapped and diverted Federal resources which could have been decisively employed in the East. Taylor could not destroy Banks' army in Louisiana; Kirby Smith was incapable of trapping Steele's command in Arkansas. The Confederates had averted an invasion but lost their one chance to reconquer the Trans-Mississippi. Disillusionment, recrimination, and uncertainty were the result.

Bruton's regiment was left to exhaust itself in futile marches, bivouacs, and countermarches across northern Louisiana and southern Arkansas for the remainder of the summer. Their generals did not know what to do with them. A bitter quarrel erupted between Kirby Smith and Taylor; the latter was transferred to the East, and the chain of command was snarled. Because of their constant movement, the Texans were denied adequate supplies, and the troops became sick and discouraged. Bruton himself was plagued by constant headaches and fever. Because of the uncertain goals in command, rumor took the place of purposeful action. The grapevine had it that the Yankees were fighting among themselves; that Lee was defeating Grant in every encounter; that Grant had been killed by his own men; that the Federal Congress was ready to sue for peace. Through such a rumor, Ellen Bruton heard that her husband had been killed.[54]

The Captain was quick to reassure his wife that, indeed, he was still very much alive. By August, however, he was not at all certain that his then viable condition would long continue. "I feel so much like I was writing a will," he told her, "that I don't think I can write anything that can be understood." The event which inspired these lugubrious sentiments was the result of unwonted initiative on the part of the Confederate high command. On July 22, Richmond ordered Kirby Smith to ship all the Texans across the Mississippi to defend Mobile, then under Federal attack. When the Texas boys got wind of their generals' plans for them, they took it like a death sentence. As Bruton put it, "It is a verry searious matter . . . to leave our homes and familys exposed to the enemy and to go to a country where we can't even hear from our familys." "I would not be surprised," he admitted, "if a great many of [the Texans] did not desert before starting. I don't think they can be carried across the river."[55]

And desert they did. Overnight, 140 men slipped away from the brigade; Bruton's regiment lost 7. The Captain was caught in a dilemma of duty. On the one hand, he could hardly condone desertion, whatever his feelings. "I hate very much to go myself," he admitted to his wife, "but I will never desert . . . I am doing all in my power to prevent desertion." On the other hand, the more men who deserted, the greater the likelyhood that the repugnant order would be rescinded. "If not," Bruton predicted, "this army is ruined."[56]

The Captain's dilemma was shared by his commander, Kirby Smith. Fully aware that a complex amphibious operation designed to ferry thousands of his troops across a great river entirely controlled by his enemy was simply impossible, the general was far from enthusiastic about the transfer order. Wholesale desertions from his command provided the evidence he needed to convince Richmond that the plan would

never work. On August 22, therefore, Kirby Smith revoked the order for the transfer across the Mississippi. The Rebel high command simply had to swallow this decision.

Having abandoned his projected move across the river, the department commander had to find some employment for his troops. He endorsed, therefore, a futile and ill-conceived plan for a Confederate raid into Missouri. This fiasco threatened to draw the full fury of the Federal army into southern Arkansas, so Bruton's regiment was dispatched to that quarter, where the Texans tramped wearily from one wretched encampment to the other for most of the fall. Then, having exhausted all supplies and forage in Arkansas, they were ordered into camps in northern Louisiana for the last winter of the war.[39]

This dreary succession of march and countermarch nevertheless represented the lesser of two evils for the boys of Company G. Bruton reported that despite the hardships, "no body grumbles since the ordor for crossing the river has been revoked."[40] Still, nobody knew where they were going or why. A wet autumn not only lengthened the sick list but also rendered bivouac life generally miserable. There was little food to be had for men or mules. Tobacco cost $15 a plug. Many of the men were marching barefoot, and Bruton was down to his last pair of drawers. Late in the fall of 1864 a short furlough home provided a respite from the rigors of life in camp, but he had to return to his unit before Christmas.[41] The Captain's mood on that holiday may be gauged from the following passage written to his wife:

> To day is Christmas day and I am in camp. I don't think I ever studied so much about you & the children in one day before in all my life. It is a verry lonesome day here. Oh what would I of give to of been with you and the children to day. I imagine that you are in about the same condition to day that I am: mind floating over the whole world all most.[42]

By this time the sands of the Confederacy were rapidly running out. Throughout the South, the transportation system was at the point of collapse. A gloomy spirit of disunion dogged the Confederacy, while desertion, disaffection, and the chronic shortage of money and materiel rendered its armies increasingly impotent. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia had been decimated beyond recovery by the punishment endured at Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg. During the fall, Sherman had driven his column of devastation across Georgia, splitting the Old South in two. Lincoln's war policy had received a renewed mandate in the November elections. By the beginning of 1865, the North was poised for the final great offensive.

Blocked from participating in these crucial events by the "impassable barrier" of the Mississippi, the armies of Kirby Smith could do little more than look on as the decisive developments unfolded to the

east. Then on March 7, 1865, a threat nearer home set the armies of the Trans-Mississippi Department in motion again. Kirby Smith received an urgent report that forty thousand Yankees were on their way from New Orleans to invade the Texas Coast. Hastily he mobilized his troops and ordered them to concentrate in the area around Houston to repel the expected Union attack. Bruton's regiment marched through East Texas and arrived at Hempstead on March 30.

But the Yankee invasion failed to materialize. Instead, the Confederacy collapsed. The official announcement of Lee's surrender at Appomattox reached the soldiers at Hempstead on April 21. While the troops reacted with understandable dejection and apathy, Kirby Smith, a number of his generals, and a few of the politicians were not yet ready to quit. Let Houston become the heart of the Glorious Cause, they urged; let us "fight unto the end." But as the weeks of indecision dragged on, the army rapidly disintegrated. Kirby Smith finally surrendered his forces on June 2, 1865. Bruton's brigade had already been disbanded by its commander on May 24, and the men trudged wearily homeward to face a new era in American history.[14]

Who was this man who found his way back to his East Texas farm late in the spring? Captain Bruton was no hero. He did not distinguish himself by his boldness, dash, or initiative, and he never showed any inclination to risk his life or that of his men beyond the normal call of duty. If he had ever had any illusions about the nobility of the cause for which he was fighting, these had long since been dispelled by the squalid reality of war. Had there been an honorable way out, he would have spent the last half of the conflict running his farm. Bruton had pride in his company and regiment and rejoiced when the men acquitted themselves well. But he never revealed any hatred, enmity, or even resentment toward the enemy, except when they pursued their wanton course of destruction through Louisiana. Bruton saw in the Yankees what he recognized in himself: men trapped in war out of a sense of duty.

It was duty which kept him at his post to the end, worrying about his men like a father. Throughout it all, however, Bruton maintained his perspective through the gift of gentle irony that he possessed, and he never took himself too seriously. The Captain's character also reveals a strain of kindness and decency. His eyes were not shut even to the sufferings of the blacks, which could be most conveniently ignored. He was a man deeply in love with his wife and family, the intensity of which he fully discovered only when torn apart from them. But perhaps most of all, Bruton was in love with his land, his fields, his farm: his home. And it was to this home that he now returned.

NOTES

[1]J. H. to E. Burton, Little Rock, Ark., May 24, 1862, *Joseph Bruton Letters* (hereinafter cited as *BL),* East Texas Collection, Boynton Library, Stephen F. Austin State University.

[2]E. Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil* (Austin, 1965), 58-79; S. B. Oates, "Texas Under the Secessionists," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (hereinafter cited as *SHQ*), LXVII, No. 2 (Oct., 1963), 165-190; A. C. Ashcraft, *Texas in the Civil War* (Austin, 1962), 8-12, and "East Texas in the Election of 1860 and the Secession Crisis," *East Texas Historical Journal* (hereinafter cited as *ETHJ*), I, No. 1 (July, 1963), 11-13; R. A. Wooster, "Life in Civil War East Texas," *ETHJ,* III, No. 2 (Oct., 1965), 93-94; Jimmie Hicks, "Texas and Separate Independence," *ETHJ,* IV, No. 2 (Oct., 1966), 92-101. For a discussion of the accuracy of the figures on the popular vote for secession, see J. T. Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession, February 23, 1861: The Vote," *ETHJ,* XI, No. 2 (Fall, 1973), 12-28.

[3]C. R. Ericson, *The People of Nacogdoches County in 1860: An Edited Census* (Nacogdoches, 1978), 111; County Court Records, Nacogdoches County, Tex.

[4]U. S. National Archives, *Confederate Archives,* Chap. 6, File 140, p. 31; S. B. Oates, *Confederate Cavalry West of the River* (Austin, 1961), 26; 34-38, 44, 47-51, 175.

[5]T. L. Snead, "The Conquest of Arkansas," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (ed. by R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, 4 vols., New York, 1884-1888) III, 441-445.

[6]J. H. to E. Bruton, Shreveport, May 1, and Little Rock, May 24, 1862, *BL;* R. R. Wise, ed., "The Letters of Lt. Flavius W. Perry, 17th Texas Cavalry, 1862-1863," *Military History of Texas and the Southwest* (hereinafter cited as *MHTS*), XIII, No. 2 (1976), 12-14.

[7]J. H. to E. Bruton, Little Rock, May 24, 1862, *BL.*

[8]Wise, "Letters of Lt. Flavius W. Perry," 14-15; N. C. Delaney, ed., "The Diary and Memoirs of Marshall Samuel Pierson," *MHTS,* XIII, No. 3 (1976), 24-27; Snead, "Conquest of Arkansas," 445.

[9]U. S. National Archives, *Confederate Archives,* Roster, 17th Texas Consolidated Cavalry; Wise, "Letters of Lt. Flavius W. Perry," 15-22; Delaney, "Diary . . . of M. S. Pierson," 27.

[10]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp Hope, Ark., Sept. 27, 1862. *BL.*

[11]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp Nelson, Ark., Oct. 21, 1862, *BL.*

[12]J. H. to E. Bruton, Little Rock, May 24, 1862, *BL.*

[13]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp Hope, Ark., Sept. 27, 1862, *BL.*

[14]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp near Clarendon, Ark., Oct. 7, 1862, *BL.*

[15]J. H. to E. Bruton, Little Rock, May 24, 1862, *BL.*

[16]Snead, "Conquest to Arkansas," 448-450; Wise, "Letters of Lt. Flavius W. Perry," 22-25; Delaney, "Diary . . . of M. S. Pierson," 27.

[17]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp Hope, Ark., Oct. 13, 1862, *BL.*

[18]*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Ser. I, XVII, pt. I, 705; Snead, "Conquest of Arkansas," 450-451.

[19]Quoted in Wise, "Letters of Lt. Flavius W. Perry," 27.

[20]*Ibid.*, 29-30; *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, XVII, Pt. I, 612, 780-788, 790-796; Snead, "Conquest of Arkansas," 450-453.

[21]U. S. National Archives, *Confederate Archives*, Chap. 6, File No. 140, p. 31, and File No. 178, p. 5; Wise, "Letters of Lt. Flavius W. Perry," 30-37; W. B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons* (Columbus, Ohio, 1930), 89, 178-181; *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. II, V, 176, 203, 477-478, 933-934, 937.

[22]U. S. National Archives, *Confederate Archives*, Chap. 6, File No. 178, 5, 31; Alwyn Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, [Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association, Publication Series, VIII, No. 1] (n.p., 1964), 21-22, 28-38; Joseph H. Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C. S. A.* (Baton Rouge, 1954), 259, 324-326, 330, 336-337; J. D. Winters, *The Civil War in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1963), 301-314; Delaney, "Diary . . . of M. S. Pierson," 29-32.

[23]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp Allen, Jan. 1, 1854, *BL*.

[24]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp Allen, Jan. 1, 1864, *BL*.

[25]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp in the Field, June 5, and Camp McNutt Hill, July 9, 1864.

[26]L. H. Johnson, *Red River Campaign: Politics and Cotton in the Civil War* (Baltimore, 1958), 5-22, 33-39, 79-89.

[27]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp near Mansfield, April 12, 1864, *BL*. In Oct., 1862, for example, more than a quarter of the 27,000 troops in the Trans-Mississippi Department remained unarmed. See Oates, *Confederate Cavalry West of the River*, 71, fn. 55.

[28]Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, 124-169; Parks, *Kirby Smith*, 387-391; Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, 35-41; R. Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction* (ed. by R. B. Harwell, New York, 1955), 194-212; R. W. Smith and M. Mullins, eds., "Diary of H. C. Medford, Confederate Soldier, 1864," SHQ, XXXIV, No. 3 (Jan. 1931), 211-230.

[29]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp near Mansfield, April 12, 1864, *BL*.

[30]Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, 39-41.

[31]Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, 41-47.

[32]A. F. Sperry, as quoted in Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, 201.

[33]Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 222-223.

[34]Smith and Mullins, "Diary of H. C. Medford," 220-221.

[35]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp in the Field, May 30, 1864, *BL*.

[36]Parks, *Kirby Smith*, 403-420; J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp on Old River, April 26, 1864, Camp in the Field, June 11 and June 22, 1864, and Camp McNutt Hill, July 9-10, 1864, *BL*; Johnson, *Red River Campaign*, 278.

[37]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp, August 18-19, 1864, *BL*.

[38]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp, August 18-19, 1864, *BL*.

[39]Parks, *Kirby Smith*, 420-441; Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, 48-52.

[40]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp in the Field, Aug. 30, 1864, *BL*.

[41]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp in the Field, June 7, 1864, Camp near Camden, Ark., Oct. 5, 1864, and Camp Allen, December 18, 1864, *BL*.

[42]J. H. to E. Bruton, Camp Allen, Dec. 25, 1864, *BL*.

[43]Parks, *Kirby Smith*, 441-478; Barr, *Polignac's Texas Brigade*, 54-56; Wooster, "Life in Civil War East Texas," 98-99.

"TELL WES TO BE A GOOD MAN..." EXAMINING AN EARLY HARDIN KILLING

by Chuck Parsons

In John Wesley Hardin's posthumously published *Life*[1] some three dozen or more killings from the first blood shed in 1868 to the killings in Florida prior to his capture there in 1877 are described. Some of these incidents were highly colored, if not complete fabrications. But for all the picaresque elements in the *Life* the fact remains that contemporary references to numerous incidents have been located, allowing the historian other viewpoints for purposes of correlation and comparison. One such example of an incident recorded by Hardin which contained elements of truth, and which can be substantiated by contemporary sources, is the killing of an "Arkansas gunman" Benjamin B. Bradley. Judging from the amount of space Hardin devoted to this particular killing, approximately two thousand words, it is believed that he himself may have felt the Bradley killing particularly significant in looking back over his career during the years spent in a prison cell.

With Hardin's account, albeit colored, as well as several letters preserved by descendants, a rare newspaper account, as well as other sources, a partial reconstruction of this killing can be developed. The letters refer to the 1894-95 correspondence between Hardin and Texas lawman Richard M. Glover, Sheriff of Gonzales County. In these letters lie not only the information concerning Hardin's intent to clear his name of all possible past charges, but also the expression of hope and concern of a lawman that Hardin, certainly the most deadly of Texas gunfighters, would leave his violent past behind him and lead a quiet law-abiding life.

In late 1869 John Wesley moved to Hill County at the request of his brother Joseph Gipson Hardin. The sixteen year old fugitive felt himself a man then, and, in addition to speculating in cotton and hides, spent considerable time gambling. He recalled that it was in Towash, a small town on the east bank of the Brazos river, that he gambled and raced horses. Towash was approximately fifteen miles west of Hillsboro, county seat of Hill County, and approximately sixty miles south of Fort Worth. It had been established in 1853 and was prominent in the western part of Hill County until the middle 1880s. One important establishment was the flour mill operated by Simpson C. Dyer, powered by a dam he himself had constructed. One could visit the ruins of Towash, Dyer's mill, a store and a church—all built of stone—until 1951 when they were inundated by the waters of the Whitney Reservoir.

Hardin wrote of his youthful activities: "I played poker and seven-up whenever I got a chance and once in a while would bet on a pony

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race. These races generally came off at the old Boles track near Towash. A man named John Collins had married a cousin of mine, and I went into partnership with him. Things ran smoothly for some time and we were doing well until a tragedy occurred that forever dissolved our partnership."[2]

The tragedy was the killing of a man Hardin identified as "Jim Bradley," although his correct name was evidently Benjamin B. Bradley. As he recalled the incident it was on Christmas day, 1869, that he and Collins visited the Boles race track. There were a number of people from Arkansas there, two of whom were Bradley and a Hamp Davis. Possibly Bradley was there for reasons other than merely racing, for Hardin wrote: "We came near having a shooting match several times that day, as everybody in the '60's carried pistols, but all left the track apparently satisfied. Jim Bradley . . . was introduced to me as a desperado and a killer. I have been reliably informed that he was there for my especial benefit, but in those days an unknown desperado had as much influence on me as a snaffle bit on a wild horse."

The killing came as the result of a quarrel following a poker game taking place near the grocery store of "Dire and Jenkins."[3] The game was ". . . in a small box house without a door but with a place open for a chimney in the north end. The house was about 13 x 14 feet and was situated about a quarter of a mile from the grocery." Participants were Hardin, Bradley, Hamp Davis and a Judge Moore.[4] Hardin's partner, Collins, was an observer and did not play.

An argument ensued over the game and Hardin and Collins were both forced to flee the house at the point of Bradley's pistol. Later, after acquiring a weapon, (he had been forced to leave his weapons in the box house) Hardin and Collins again met up with Bradley and his associates.

"[We] saw Bradley with six or seven others, including Hamp Davis, coming toward us, threatening to kill me, his crowd urging him on . . . Bradley . . . commenced to fire on me, firing once, then snapping, and then firing again. By this time we were within five or six feet of each other, and I fired with a Remington .45 at his heart and right after that at his head. As he staggered and fell, he said, 'O, Lordy, don't shoot me any more.' I could not stop. I was shooting because I did not want to take chances on a reaction. The crowd ran, and I stood there and cursed them long and loud as cowardly devils who had urged a man to fight and when he did and fell, to desert him like cowards and traitors."

There have been numerous books and other publications dealing with Hardin's career as premier Texas gunfighter and mankiller.

Unfortunately, none, to this writer's knowledge, have added any new reliable information about the Bradley killing.[5] For that reason the discovery of a three paragraph news item from Hill County, printed in the El Paso *Daily Herald* shortly after Hardin's death, is of great value.[6] The killing occurred as follows, according to the Hill County account:

> "It has been said that John Wesley Hardin began his career of crime in this county, but old settlers here say he kill [ed] a negro in Leon county before coming here. He had been in the county four or five months when he got into a difficulty with and killed Benjamin B. Bradley. After killing Bradley he fled the county. The history of the killing from creditable sources are as follows: He engaged in a game of cards on the Brazos near Towash with J. B. Williams, I. B. Collins [,] Benjamin B. Bradley and a man named Moore on the night of the 4th of January, 1870. During the game he got into a difficulty with Bradley. They were seperated and made friends.
>
> "Later Hardin missed some money and charged Bradley with taking it. Somebody put the lights out. The lamps were lit again and Moore was missing. Hardin went out to hunt for him. Hardin and Collins left the house to go up to a saloon on the hill. On the way they met Bradley. He was on the ground holding his horse. He said: 'Is that you Ben?' Bradley answered, 'Yes,' and he had no sooner spoken than Hardin fired. Mounting his horse he disappeared. Moore was never seen after that night."

A number of discrepencies between Hardin's account and the Hill County account are readily apparent. Hardin's "Jim Bradley" is no doubt correctly identified as Benjamin B. Bradley. Probably the "I. B. Collins" of the Hill County account should have been "J. B. Collins," being a simple misprint, as one would think Hardin would correctly recall the name of his own relative, albeit by marriage. In addition, the 1870 Hill County census does list a James B. Collins, which may be the man who had married a Hardin cousin. In the *Life* no mention is made of a J. B. Williams, although the census does list one James B. Williams who may have been the same man as identified in the Hill County account. The name Hamp Davis does not appear in the Hill County account nor the 1870 census record. An additional discrepency is the difference in dates: Hardin placed the shooting as having occurred December 25, 1869, whereas the Hill County account placed it on January 4, 1870. This is not a great difference in time, of course, but it is suspected that Hardin deliberately changed the date to add a touch of what he must have considered to be a romantic element. Or possibly he only had a vague idea that the killing had taken place around Christmas time, 1869.

Most significant is the Hill County account providing a reason for what Hardin termed a "regular mob" being formed to lynch him.

The crowd that he had cursed "loud and long as cowardly devils" aroused the countryside. He soon learned his situation was critical, as many people joined together to capture him. He recalled that ". . . the whole country, with the exception of a few friends and relatives" were hunting him.

If Hardin's account was accurate in its details, that a desperado from Arkansas deliberately set out to rob and if necessary kill him, why did the populace of Hill County form into an angry mob so quickly? Hardin was not a stranger in a strange land, as Bradley was if we

John Wesley Hardin, probably made after his release from prison.

Sheriff Richard M. Glover in the early 1890s.
Published for the first time.
Courtesy Lylamae H. Williams, Batesville, Arkansas.

believe Hardin's own account. There were relatives there, Aunt Ann Hardin and family, as well as Uncle Barnett Hardin and his sons. There were also relatives named Page[1] in the country so it is difficult to believe that this sixteen year old youth, in a country where relatives lived, who were presumably respectable God-fearing people, could so quickly become a fugitive from an angry mob, especially *if the victim of this youth was indeed a desperado and a killer from a neighboring state.* One is almost forced to conclude that the Bradley killing in reality occurred quite differently from the version found in Hardin's autobiography. If one accepts the Hill County account as probably having been written with more objectivity in mind, the logical conclusion is that the men of Hill County became enraged because Hardin *killed his man without justification.* Quite possibly Bradley was no more of a desperado than any one else in that settlement! The possible motive for the killing is that Bradley had won considerable money from Hardin in a fair game.

Another problem raised by the Hill County account is in the nature of the relationship of the man named Moore to both Hardin and Bradley. It is stated that Hardin was *looking for him* when he met Bradley; as well Moore was never seen again after that night. Hardin, in his autobiographical writing, gave no hint as to Moore's fate either. Was Moore a friend of Bradley, and left the country fearing Hardin's wrath? Quite possibly Hardin blamed both Moore and Bradley for his losing money in that poker game. There is some evidence, although elusive, that about the time of the Bradley killing another man died at the hands of Hardin. This is not hinted at in Hardin's *Life,* however. In an article appearing in the *Daily Democratic Statesman*[2] of Austin, entitled "Accusations Against Wesley Hardin," appeared the following intriguing statement: "George W. Taylor, of Travis County, on October 10, 1872, made an affidavit that Hardin confessed in his presence that he killed two men in Peoria, Hill County, two years previously." The affidavit had been recorded in the Adjutant General's office.

The Bradley killing occurred near Towash, and although it may seem odd that Hardin did not mention Peoria, or another killing at the same time as that of the Bradley killing, there are possible explanations for this apparent omission. It can be said that at the time of the "confession" that George W. Taylor reported hearing, Hardin may have been making an idle boast. But Hardin had killed enough in reality so that boasting was hardly necessary. What may be more significant is that if indeed Moore was later killed by Hardin, he chose not to relate this experience fearing that a calculated pursuit of Moore, who may have been responsible for Hardin's gambling losses, would make him appear to be too cold-blooded a killer in the mind of his readers. We must not forget the fact that Hardin, in his autobiographical writings, was attempting to create an image in the mind of he reading public of

his having been forced to lead a life of desperadoism. This was of greater priority in his writing than historical fact.

It was easy to describe the Bradley killing as an act of self-defense; it would have been much more difficult to fictionalize a pursuit of Moore in such a way as to make it appear to be a "self-defense" killing as well. It is possibly significant that the Hill County account stated so emphatically that Moore was *never* seen again, twenty-four years after the gunfight at Towash. Did Hardin, in actuality, after killing Bradley, pursue Moore and kill him in a lonely secluded place, so that the body was never found? Hardin could have conveniently forgotten about this killing when writing the story of his adventures years later.

Hardin never did stand trial for the Bradley killing. It was not until the killing of Charles S. Webb, a deputy sheriff of Brown County, that Hardin felt deep concern for his personal safety. In the aftermath of the Webb killing a number of Hardin's friends and relatives were killed by Texas Rangers and citizen vigilante groups. Hardin fled Texas and remained in hiding in Florida for three years. In August, 1877, he was arrested by Florida and Texas lawmen, returned to Texas where he stood trial for the killing of Webb. After being found guilty of second degree murder he was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison, but was pardoned after serving only sixteen.

In March, 1894, only a month after his release with a full pardon and citizenship rights fully restored, Hardin began making inquiries about the Bradley killing of twenty-four years before. We again turn to the Hill County account of August 30, 1895, to learn of the background of Hardin's inquiries.

> "In October, 1872, Hardin was indicted for the murder of Bradley. Last year when Hardin was released from the penitentiary he wrote to Sheriff Bell and County Attorney Jordan, stating that he would like to have the case here dismissed, as he intended to reform and lead an honorable life, and wished to have the case off his hands. He said he was confident that he would have no difficulty in beating the case, but wished to be saved the expense of the trial. The letters also stated that he intended to take up the profession of law. An investigation of the case was made and it was discovered that all the witnesses to the killing were dead, so when the district court met in the fall the case against him was dismissed."

The correspondence[9] mentioned in this account between Hardin, Sheriff Bell and County Attorney Jordan, as well as Gonzales County Sheriff Richard M. Glover, is only partially preserved today.[10] There is more than a mere exchange of facts and opinions in these letters. There is the expression of the elements of friendship and loyalty, as well as the suggestion of a man considering the misuse of the law, not

for personal gain, but to coerce Hardin into proving his intentions to lead a good and respectable life.

Glover was himself a child when Hardin was in his prime; he had had two uncles who went up the cattle trail to Abilene, Kansas, in 1871, with Hardin. Bell was four years older than Hardin, and knew him while Hardin lived in Hill County. County Attorney Jordan lived in Hill County in 1869 so he quite probably knew Hardin as well.

At least a dozen letters were exchanged between these individuals concerning the Bradley killing and standing indictments against Hardin in Hill County. Bell did investigate and found the indictment still on the docket. But due to the intervening years witnesses had died or had moved on, and Bell doubted if Hardin could be convicted. He did express what certainly was an attitude of many in his letter of March 27: "I knowed Hardin while here, and supose [*sic*] there has been considerable change in him Since that time [.] I Know all his Relations In this county and they are all fine people and the citizens thinks Generaly [*sic*] that John Wesley Hardin has been punished enough and had I not thought so I would have went after him before he was released from the pen, But it might Be Best to hold this case on the Dockett unill [*sic*] he thoroughly Proves by His conduct that he intends to Keep out of trouble and not [cause] any one else trouble [.] However If you Insist on it I will get the case Dismissed [.]) "

Bell's suggestion to hold the case over Hardin's head until he proved he was a reformed man was rejected by Glover. He wrote Bell a strong letter condemning the notion. At the same time he wrote Hardin that he believed the case would be dismissed.

Bell did confer with Attorney Jordan. In April court convened and Glover's prediction proved correct—the Bradley case against Hardin was dismissed. Wrote Bell to Glover on April 14: "Our District Court adjourned last evening, will meet no more until Sept. The Case against John Wesley Hardin was dismissed So there is nothing in Hill Co [.] against Wes. Tell Wes to be a good man and Keep out of trouble."

Glover did relay Bell's advice to Hardin to avoid trouble and to be a good man. It is unfortunate that Glover has remained a relatively unknown personality as his correspondence dealing with Hardin's concerns over the Bradley killing reveal him as a compassionate and insightful individual.

Unfortunately Hardin was unable to follow the advice of Sheriff Bell. He soon left the Gonzales area and traveled westward to El Paso. His passion for gambling, gunplay and frequenting saloons was kindled again in the rough atmosphere of the border city. He was now in a near-identical environment of his youth in Towash.

In early May, 1895, Hardin lost considerable money in the Gem saloon and held up the game to retrieve it. He felt justified in his actions and wrote a lengthy explanation which was printed in the El Paso "Times." This letter, entitled "John Wesley Hardin's Say" was reprinted in the Gonzales "Inquirer" and read by Sheriff Glover, his old friend. Glover felt it necessary to again write Hardin to express his concern over his safety. Glover's compassion and understanding are clearly revealed in the letter, reproduced below in full:

"Smiley 5/18/95
Jno. W. Hardin
El Paso
Dear Wes:
I have Just seen your letter to the [El Paso] "Times" as copied by the Gonzales "Inquirer" My Friend let me once more enjoin you to be Cautious and guard well your ever [y] act and word. Your many friends here that Know you and are acquainted with your honorable aim in life very much regret that you have found it necessary to again return to your old gaming life as they think that it will throw temptation in your way which Could be avoided in the quiet practice of your chosen profession. write me a long letter and let *me* Know how you are getting along. I hope you will not deem this piece of free advise [*sic*] presumptive on my part as you must Know that I am prompted by oft expressed motives only. I am not one to "turn loose" because some one else dose [*sic*] and can only say that I entertain now all the feelings of friendship heretofore expressed and have the utmost confidence in your honorable and manly aim as expressed to me and as evidenced by your acts while here [.] I believe however that you are more susceptible to temptation under certain influences than the ordinary man viz: whiskey cards & bad men (claimed to be fighters &c) hence this unasked for advice. Remember that wherever we be that there is a God, whether it be in a Saloon Gaming room or elsewhere and that He holds us accountable for all our acts and is ready and willing to remove all difficulties and troubles. With kindest regards and love from wife & children to you
I am as ever
Sincerely Your friends
R. M. Glover".

Glover had, in various ways, relayed Sheriff Bell's advice to Wes To "be a good man and keep out of trouble" but Hardin was unable to resist the attraction of the harder life—the gambling dens, the carrying of weapons (which in his youth was commonplace but now illegal), the consumption of alcohol. These elements were all contributive factors in the Bradley killing. They were just as evident in the days preceding his own death in El Paso in August, 1895, little more than a year after Sheriff Bell's advice to "be a good man and keep out of trouble."

One statement in the *Life* may provide a clue as to why he became so inextricably involved in deadly encounters. In the concluding sentences of narrative regarding the Bradley killing, he had written ". . . as he staggered and fell, he said, 'O, Lordy, don't shoot me any more.' **I could not stop.** I was shooting because I did not want to take chances on a reaction." (Boldface by author.)

Unknowingly Hardin may have provided the reason for his attraction to a life of violence, that he was impelled to it. Granted, killings and other acts of violence were not uncommon during the years immediately following the end of the Civil War, especially on the Texas frontier which had besides the hatreds of Reconstruction to deal with the problems of Indian savagery and Mexican-American prejudices. Hardin, although frequently in company with friends and relatives who tended also to be prone to violence, still must be considered a "loner" in the annals of gunfighter lore. Paul Trachtman accurately wrote that the loners ". . . frequently murdered out of sudden impulse. They appeared to lack any semblance of self-control, any means of cooling the passion to wipe other men off the face of the earth, any inner check that told them when to stop."[11]

Invariably Hardin was able to provide reasons for killing, "reasons" which were very justifiable in his troubled mind. But from available sources it appears plausible that the Bradley killing was not one where he justifiably could have claimed "self-defense."

NOTES

[1]Hardin, John Wesley, *The Life of . . ., by Himself*, Smith and Moore, Seguin, Texas, 1896. Reprinted by University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1961. Pages 17-23 deal with the Bradley killing and its aftermath.

[2]The 1870 Hill County census record, enumerated by assistant marshal Littleton J. Sturgis, provides only one individual with the Boles surname, that being a twenty year old George Boles, a white male, occupation listed as laborer. Since Hardin refers to the "old Boles track" probably this man was the son of the race track originator. In addition the census record failed to show a John Collins, but did reveal a John B. Collins who may be the man of Hardin's entourage. Collins was related by marriage, not blood, thus possibly explaining the confusion. If the Hill County account of 1895 should correctly have read J. B. Collins instead of I. B. it is quite probable this was the partner of Hardin. He was a twenty year old farmer, native of Mississippi.

[3]Hardin here was certainly referring to the property belonging to Simpson C. Dyer.

[4]The Hill County census record fails to show a Moore with occupation of judge or attorney, although there are several families of that name. Nothing more has been learned of this individual with certainty. Thomas Ripley, in his study of Hardin, called him Ed Moore but gave no source for this information. (*They Died With Their Boots On*, Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1935, p. 30.)

[5]One exception could be James L. Horan's *The Gunfighters, The Authentic Wild West,* (Crown Publishers, New York, 1976). Wrote Horan in part: "In the winter of 1869 he rode into Towash, a wild cow town where brothels, saloons, and gambling halls were open twenty-four hours a day. The community was ruled by Jim Bradley, a desperado and killer who owned a crude racetrack on the edge of town and enforced his own law with a band of fugitives and gunfighters." Horan also stated that Hardin killed Bradley with a *rifle.* He provided statements about this incident not found in the *Life,* but unfortunately did not cite his sources for these remarkable statements. Thomas Ripley described Bradley as being the chief of "eight or ten rough customers down from Hot Springs." (p. 28) Ripley based his work essentially on Hardin's *Life,* but also claimed to have interviewed numerous people who had known Hardin; consequently he may have learned additional details of various incidents from witnesses or participants.

[6]*Daily Herald,* (El Paso) September 4, 1895, Vol. XV, ≠ 209, p. 2, col. 2.

[7]The Hill County census provides additional details of the relatives. Ann Hardin, aged sixty, shared her residence with Lycle (?) Hardin and a James Crawford. No Barnett Hardin is listed, but the family of William B. Hardin is, he being a thirty five year old farmer with $10,000 worth of personal and real estate. With his wife Rachel and their three children was a Mary H. Hardin, aged fifty-four. One Page family is listed, James W. and his wife Martha and their five children. In the description of the Bradley killing aftermath Hardin referred to "old Jim Page" so we can be fairly certain that this is the Page family referred to as relatives.

[8]*Daily Democratic Statesman,* (Austin) August 30, 1877, "Accusations Against Wesley Hardin."

[9]The Hardin Letter Collection is preserved in the Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos. The majority of the letters were written during the prison years, 1878-1894.

[10]Bell, Jordan, and Glover are all relatively unknown today. Thomas Bell (1849-1905) served as Hill County sheriff from 1892 to 1900. He was farming at the time of the Bradley killing. George I. Jordan had come to Texas from Mississippi in 1869 and had located at Covington, Hill County. In 1880 he entered the law profession under Tarlton and Bullock. He was appointed City Attorney in 1881. The Glovers were long time respected citizens of Gonzales County. In 1871 there were at least two Glovers accompanying the young Hardin to Abilene, Kansas on a cattle drive. Richard M. Glover was born in 1862, the only child of Richard M. and Delilah Bundick Glover. He married Miss M. A. Colley in 1887. In November, 1890, he was elected sheriff of Gonzales County, the youngest man to hold that position up to that time. On June 14, 1901, he was killed in the line of duty by outlaw Gregorio Cortez. A huge manhunt involving other lawmen, ordinary citizens, and Texas Rangers finally brought about the capture of Cortez. Of further interest in the Hardin-Glover relationship is that his signature appears on a list of twenty-six sheriffs' names, members of the Sheriffs Association of Texas, on an application for Hardin's pardon, dated May, 1892.

[11]Trachtman, Paul, *The Gunfighters,* (The Old West Series) by the editors of Time-Life Books. Alexandria, Virginia, 1974, p. 169.

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

The Spring meeting of the Association convened in Marshall on February 26-27. Over one hundred members and guests attended the Friday evening session at the First United Methodist Church, and later gathered for a reception at the Fry-Berry House. Saturday sessions were held on the campus of East Texas Baptist College with President Jerry Dawson and Vice President Gwin Morris as hosts. Randolph Campbell of North Texas State University delivered the luncheon address.

The Association's Fall meeting will be held at Nacogdoches on the campus of Stephen F. Austin State niversity. Dr. Bobby H. Johnson, SFASU, serves as program chairman. The Friday evening reception will be held at the home of the Editor, 1615 Redbud. Bobby is planning sessions on various aspects of Eastern Texas history, so there will be something for everyone. Bring a friend and help us grow.

One of the highlights of the Spring meeting was the awarding of the Ralph W. Steen Service Award to Mrs. E. H. (Gene) Lasseter. Mrs. Lasseter is a charter member of the Association, and has served on the Board of Directors and as vice president on two occasions. Her service to East Texas, as well as to the Association, is widely known, and, at last, gratefully expressed. Gene joins previous winners F. Lee Lawrence, Dr. Robert Cotner, Mrs. Lera Thomas, and Mrs. Tommie Jan Lowery on a selected, honored, and deserving list.

We have received an interesting publication from the Sam Rayburn Library. On January 6, 1982 the Library led the nation in celebrating the 100th birthday of "Mister Speaker." Appropriate ceremonies were held at Bonham, and a part of the observance included the publication of a special Centennial Edition of the Library's *Newsletter*, which is a 72 page collection of remembrances, photos and tributes. It is available from the Library for those interested in obtaining a copy.

The Lufkin Genealogical and Historical Society (107 East Lufkin Avenue, Lufkin, TX 75901) has published "Angelina County Cemetery Records, Volume II, January, 1969 through August, 1981." Copies are available for $12.50.

Oral history increasingly captures our attention, and two items of interest have recently appeared. *Oral History: Report from the Classroom, Work in Progress*, and *Books: A Year's Gleanings* were published recently by Columbia University, the see of oral history. Copies are available from the Oral History Research Office, Columbia University,

Box 20, Butler Library, New York 10027. And the *Guide to the Oral History Collection at Texas A&M University*, a fifty-page pamphlet listing nearly 400 tapes and transcriptions concerning biographies of former students who became general officers in the armed forces, agricultural history, early settlers of East and Central Texas, German coal gasification during World War II, the Mexican revolution, oceanographers, urban planning in Texas, and research in engineering and veterinary medician at A&M. Copies are available for $3.00 at: Administrative Office, Sterling Evans Library, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX 77843.

John Jenkins has produced a pamphlet entitled *Rare Books and Manuscript Thefts, A Security System for Librarians, Booksellers, and Collectors* which will interest at least those named in the title. The pamphlet is the result of Johnny's efforts as president of the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association of America to guard against theft and rape of rare books and papers. Copies may be obtained without charge from the aforementioned Association, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, NY 10020.

Also available is a *Guide to Manuscript Collections,* Archives of the Big Bend, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas. This guide describes the more than one-half million leaves of manuscript material available for research concerning the Texas-Pecos area.

BOOK NOTES

Every now and then, a major publishing "event" occurs. A few months ago the Texas State Historical Association staged, produced, and starred in such an "event" with its magnificant *Journey to Mexico During the Years 1826 to 1834* by Jean Louis Berlandier. The two volume, boxed work was translated by Sheila M. Ohlendorf, Josette M. Migelow, and Mary M. Standifer, with an introduction by C. H. Muller and botanical notes by C. H. Muller and Katherine K. Muller. Muller's introduction outlines the significance of the author and of his observations as a botanist for the Mexican Boundary Commission and as a collector of natural history specimens for European scholarly examination. The volumes contain excellent color plates of botanical and zoological specimens with descriptions. The writings of Berlandier are also rich in social observations of the peoples he encountered. It is available from the TSHA, Sid Richardson Hall, 2.306, University Station, Austin 78712, for $75.00.

Volume VIII of Malcolm D. McLean's *Papers Concerning Robertson's Colony in Texas, November, 1833 through December, 1834,* is now available (Box 929, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington

76019—$25.00). This volume continues the saga of Sterling Robertson's efforts to establish a colony in Texas despite those of Stephen F. Austin to prevent his doing so. Topics covered in this volume, among others, include Robertson's notices to the public, certificates of admission to the Nashville colony, Robertson's presentation to the *ayuntamiento* of San Felipe, and a biography of Robertson. If you have followed the saga through the first seven volumes, you will want to continue the story, and if you haven't you need to catch up on this presentation of "the other side" of the Austin-Robertson controversy.

Bob Bowman, chairman of the Lufkin Centennial Commission, has produced a fine volume to document his community's history: *The Lufkin That Was* (Lufkin Printing Company, Box 589, Lufkin 75901). It is not only an album of photographs taken since Lufkin was founded as a rough-hewn village on the Houston, East and West Texas Railroad, but also a nostalgic look at the past of this important East Texas city. The photos mostly came from private collections in Lufkin, so this is your one chance to see many of them.

Journey to The United States of North America, by Lorenzo de Zavala, translated by Wallace Woolsey, has been published by Shoal Creek Publishers (Box 9737, Austin 78766—$15.00). It is in the tradition of 19th century travel literature, and features the keen observations of this learned Spaniard who became an important figure in the history of Mexico and Texas. Zavala's observations on politics, slavery, and American cities and lifestyles is insightful and interesting.

Ray Miller's *Eyes of Texas Travel Guide for the Fort Worth/Brazos Valley* (Cordovan Press, 5314 Bingle Road, Houston 77092—$7.95) continues the series which features special books for various geographical sections of the state. Viewers who are fortunate enough to see television coverage of Miller's weekly half-hour presentation of authentic TEXANA will enjoy his travelog and guide to the by-roads of Texas. His books are filled with photos and text coverage of interesting places to visit in our state. Earlier we noted the publication of his *East Texas Guide,* and it is also available from the Cordovan Press.

Texas Rich, The Hunt Dynasty From the Early Oil Days Through the Silver Crash, by Harry Hurt III (W. W. Norton Company, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York 10110—$16.95), tells its story in the title. Hurt, who often writes for *Texas Monthly,* here chronicles the life of an Illinois farm boy named H. L. Hunt who made a fortune in East Texas oil. Hunt became known as an eccentric and an advocate of the most conservative political pursuasion who was willing to use his money and power to advance his beliefs. Hurt asserts that Hunt's private life was even more incredible than his public myth, including stories of bigamy—three separate families—his attitudes on people and his fame as the

world's richest man, his health seeking adventures, and his exploits in the oil business. Hurt also writes of the public and private lives of Hunt's well-known children in the great silver crash.

David McComb overcomes his Colorado residence to become widely known as Texas' leading historian of urban studies. In his new and expanded edition of *Houston, The Bayou City* (University of Texas Press, Austin 78712), previously published in 1969, David re-examines Houston's politics, economic and business growth, and evolution of its social and cultural institutions. New material traces the roles of blacks, Hispanics, and women in the development of the nation's fifth largest and the state's largest city. I observed in a review of the earlier edition that Houston is exciting—it still is.

The 1981 edition of the *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* is devoted entirely to a biography of W. M. D. Lee, Indian Trader. It was prepared by Donald F. Schofield of Amarillo. Copies are available at the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society, Box 967, W.T. Station, Canyon 79016.

Mary Sparkman Roberts' edition of Ervin L. Sparkman's *People's History of Live Oak County, Texas* (Ide House, Mesquete) is an interesting potpourri of data on this south Texas area. Photographs, maps, and illustrations aid this clearly written and fact-filled volume.

Vanishing Roadside America, by Warren H. Anderson (University Of Arizona Press, Tucson), with a foreward by James K. Ballinger, takes a look at the pop art along the southwest's highways. It presents the artist's view of scores of advertisements and signs which intrude on our right of passage to the point where most of us ignore them. The artist sees them differently, and his paintings bring a certain charm to what has mostly been ignored.

Charles Champlin's *The Movies Grow Up, 1940-1980* (Swollow Press, Ohio University Press), is an enlarged and revised version of an earlier publication, newly released. This book will entertain and fascinate my generation, which grew up on good movies. Nearly 200 photos illustrate Champlin's survey of the movies from their golden age through 1980.

The Gift of Christmas (American Association for State and Local History, 708 Berry Road, Nashville, TN 37204—$12.95, $10 to members) is a valuable resource and guide to Christmas preparations for those who revere the Victorian traditions. The book presents instructions for making tree ornaments, home and table decorations, and has party and game ideas for Christmas, all from the Victorian period. For preservationists and old house enthusiasts who want to be "pure" in their holiday activities, this book will provide a valuable help.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spanish & Mexican Records of the American Southwest. By Henry Putney Beers. (University of Arizona Press, Box 3398, Tucson, Arizona 85722), 1979. Appendix, Bibliography, Index, Maps. p. 493. $8.95 Paper, $18.50 Cloth.

Henry Putney Beers, for over thirty years an archivist, historian and editor with the U. S. Government, has written an excellent guide to the records for the Spanish and Mexican periods in the Southwest. His work is a skillful narrative history of the sources of the documents, the travails they endured passing through the hands of indifferent officials, the formation of archives and collections, and a straightforward key to the types of materials to be found in these depositories.

The author organizes his work into the regions of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California and a section on reference materials. Of special interest to students of Texana is his hundred-page assessment of the Spanish and Mexican records for this region. Beers'. section on Texas is organized in much the same way as the sections dealing with other regions. He begins with a useful introduction concerning the "History and Government" of Texas from discovery to independence. Following this, the author proceeds through various categories of papers.

"Provincial Records," dealing with the Spanish period, covers the Bexar and Nacogdoches archives. Beers describes the types of documents found in these repositories and their strengths and weaknesses. He traces the sometimes bizarre history of these materials before they arrived in their present homes and reveals where copies and reproductions are to be found. The subsection "Departmental Records" deals mainly with governmental reorganization during the Mexican and Independence periods, and "Archival Reproductions" describes the papers concerning Texas which have been copied from Mexican and other archives and are available in Texas. Following this, Beers assesses "Documentary Publications" and "Manuscript Collections." These entries give way to "Land Records," "Records of Local Jurisdictions," and "Ecclesiastical Records." Each subsection reflects the author's loving attention to detail and accuracy.

Beers' work suffers from the shortcomings inevitable in such a work; as soon as it is published it becomes obsolete. Collections are constantly being reorganized, and cataloging and photocopying proceed apace. Perhaps this fact will spur Beers or someone else to provide a second edition of this work, so valuable to scholars working in the areas covered.

Beers delivers more than he promises. Certainly he describes the holdings of each collection accurately, and he painstakingly catalogs

the types and quantities of materials available. In addition, however, his work provides a useful summary of the development of each region, revealed through the often interesting and sometimes romantic history of obscure bundles of paper.

D. S. Chandler
Miami University (Ohio)

Printer in Three Republics: A Bibliography of Samuel Bangs. By John H. Jenkins (Jenkins Publishing Company, Inc. PO Box 2085, Austin, TX 78768), 1981. Appendices, Index. p. 190. $15.

Samuel Bangs first came to Texas as a member of the 1816-17 Mina expedition that sought to overthrow Spanish rule in Mexico. A proclamation issued while the expedition docked at Galveston Island established his claim as the first Texas printer. Following capture at Soto la Marina he remained a prison laborer until his captors recognized the value of a printing press and operator. Bangs now became the apostle of the printed word in northern Mexico. Instinctively he created works of considerable taste with limited type and equipment. As a more significant legacy he sold printing equipment and trained pressmen to operate it. Few lives could match Samuel Bangs' for adventure, romance, triumph and despair.

In 1963 he was the subject of an important biography by Lota Spell, to which was appended a 359-item checklist. That list now has been vastly expanded, thanks to the unflagging investigatory zeal of Johnny Jenkins. Jenkins' new work includes a terse but enlightening historical and biographical introduction, followed by an enumeration of 572 imprints. Each is given the fullest possible description, all known copies are located, and each is placed in its proper historical context. This new bibliography is an essential purchase for Western Americana collections.

Al Lowman
Institute of Texan Cultures

Crossroads at San Felipe. By Noel Grisham. (Eakin Press, Burnet, Texas), 1980. Maps, Illustrations, Bibliography, Appendix, Index. p. 73. $6.95.

In the preface to this rather hapless little volume, Mr. Grisham says that "little has been written on San Felipe" and that he feels "it is time to round up the far-flung information and present it in a small, concise volume." This premise is true, and such a round up should have provided an interesting hour or two. Unfortunately, this is not the case; there is not enough here to justify even these seventy pages.

Crossroads at San Felipe is a pastiche of paragraphs and stories containing references to San Felipe de Austin. Most of these snippets were found in high school history texts, high school contest papers, or in Texas history popularizations and paperbacks, as seen by the bibliography. The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* and *The Handbook of Texas* are listed in their entirety, which is curious and not very clear; but some of the entries in that same bibliography are intriguing, and make one wish that they had been more heavily represented in the book.

The text of *Crossroads at San Felipe* seems jerky, compressed, and greatly influenced by Texas legend and myth. Most of the references to San Felipe have been published widely before; there is no new information offered. All of the maps, however, are good; clear and well labelled. Because of the scarcity of material, the author departs from his purpose about half-way through the book and then proceeds to include subjects not even remotely connected to San Felipe—the Texas Navy (both of them), Indians on the frontier, the Council House Massacre, Plum Creek, the Santa Fe Expedition, and as an appendix, Louis J. Wortham's list of the Old Three Hundred.

Mr. Grisham's conclusion is interesting, considering his beginning premise; but it perhaps excuses the dearth of information he presents. For he points out that we know what happened in San Felipe—and "what happened in San Felipe is more important than what happened to San Felipe."

Marjorie Williams
Austin, Texas

The Western Peace Officer: A Legacy of Law and Order. By Frank Richard Prassel. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1005 Asp Ave., Norman, OK 73019), 1972, reprinted 1975. Appendices, Notes, Bibliography, Index, Photographs. p. 330. $13.95 cloth, $7.95 paper.

The American frontier experience abounds with legendary accounts of heroic actions and superhuman accomplishments. Nowhere is this romanticized image more pronounced than in the field of law enforcement where marshals and sheriffs confront the forces of evil in a "high noon" shootout that inevitably leads to the triumph of the man in the white hat. At the heart of his dime novel and cinemaic portrayal are the treasured beliefs that the frontier was an eternally violent locale and that tough but fair law officers of the Matt Dillon-type brought peace to even the most lawless of towns.

Frank Richard Prassel, Director of the Law Enforcement Training Center at the University of Arkansas, challenges these assumptions by

illustrating the complexity of law enforcement in the Trans-Mississippi West. To begin with, he concludes that this nation's violence was not a product of the frontier environment but rather reached back into the European origins of American settlement. Furthermore, marshals and sheriffs represented only a single dimension of frontier law and order. Equally important were the collective services of state rangers, railroad investigators, private detective groups, Indian police, army officers, National Park Service rangers, Border Patrolmen, and even vigilante groups. Prassel also deflates the heroic mystique of figures such as Wyatt Earp and Wild Bill Hickok, as well as questions the notion that the diverse enforcement agencies brought law and order to the West. In truth, antiquated police methods and ineffective laws prevented efficiency and certainly allowed a significant number of guilty parties to escape prosecution.

In chronicling the efforts of these various agencies, Prassel has assembled an impressive array of sources. The bibliography provides sixteen pages of monographic and journalistic accounts, as well as newspaper articles, government documents, and theses and dissertations. Most convincing, however, is the author's utilization of local court records, police dockets, private papers and even interviews with persons active in early twentieth century law enforcement.

If *The Western Peace Officer* can be faulted in any way, the criticism would rest upon its brevity. A text of only 256 pages cannot do full justice to all the types of agencies that the author identifies (two pages devoed to bounty hunters, four pages to the Border Parol, two pages to park rangers, two pages to the Northwest Mounted Police, and three pages to the Mexican rurales), but Prassel has well presented the best overview of western law enforcement yet attempted.

Michael L. Tate
University of Nebraska at Omaha

Henry Brown: The Outlaw-Marshall. By Bill O'Neal. (Creative Publishing Company, Box 9292, College Station, Texas 77840), 1980. Photographs, Illustrations, Acknowledgements, Bibliography, Index. p. 165. $12.95.

Henry Brown is not one of the American West's better known outlaws or lawmen, since he was for the most part of his life a drifter and outlaw-gunfighter, not an unusual occupation for his day. The last couple of years of his life were spent as a lawman and respected citizen, until he returned to his earlier ways. He has been neglected until now by American historians as well as western history buffs, but Bill O'Neal, in an interesting biography, has changed that.

O'Neal's biography of Brown is written in a straight-forward style. Born in Cold Spring Township, twenty miles south of Rolla, Missouri in 1857, Brown left the Rolla area and headed west at the age of seventeen. The following year he is said to have killed his first man, the first of possibly nine. After working for John Chisum briefly and finding cowpunching unrewarding, he joined forces with Billy the Kid. He was a participant in the Battle of Blazer's Mill, New Mexico, in 1878 when Dick Brewer and Andrew "Buckshot" L. Roberts were killed. From 1878 until he became assistant marshal of Caldwell, Kansas in July, 1882, he worked at several odd jobs as a cowboy, but continued his outlaw ways. Once he became assistant marshal, he gained the respect of the community by enforcing law and order in the frontier town, so that when the marshal resigned he was elected marshal. For the next sixteen months, he was a model western lawman. However, he was plagued by personal problems and returned to his outlaw ways when he robbed the Medicine Valley Bank in Medicine Valley, Kansas, killing a man in the process. He was captured by a posse shortly after the robbery-killing and was killed by a mob as he tried to escape from jail.

O'Neal's volume fills another chapter in the history of the American West. The book is written in a readable manner and holds the attention of the reader. History buffs, as well as western historians, will find the volume worthwhile reading.

Bill Ledbetter
Cooke County College (Texas)

Enclave: Vicksburg and Her Plantations, 1863-1870. By James T. Currie. (University Press of Mississippi, Jackson, Mississippi), 1980. Photographs, Bibliography, Index. p. 257. $16.95.

Dr. James Currie utilizes extensive research materials to give a detailed account of Vicksburg and the surrounding plantations during the period of federal military occupation. He contends that Vicksburg and the entire Warren County area were an enclave from the fall of the city through Congressional Reconstruction in Mississippi. He points out that this area was different from the rest of the state largely due to the concentrated U. S. presence there—first as an enclave of Union territory in the midst of the Confederacy and subsequently due to continued U. S. occupation throughout the remainder of the 1860's. Currie concludes that although the status of enclave did indeed affect the area during the time period, its long-term effects have been negligible.

Beginning with the occupation of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, Currie examines the problems created when the town's prewar population of 4500 swelled to a temporary 50,000. Refugees from the Con-

federacy, masses of freedmen, as well as the military armies and occupation forces created almost insurmountable problems for Union commanders—problems in administration, sanitation and crime prevention compounded by inadequate housing and food supplies. Furthermore, Union attempts to restore loyalty were met by a proud populace who found the oath of allegiance unacceptable.

Currie discusses the difficult transition from slavery to freedom, amplified by the extremely large concentration of ex-slaves in the Vicksburg area. Within the enclave slavery was abolished, consequently many plantations were re-established using free labor, while others had to be abandoned when slaves left. He recounts the efforts of freedmen to obtain their own land and the difficulties experienced by ex-slaves in dealing with Northern plantation lessors. Currie agrees with previous studies which show the Freedman's Bureau as having only limited success in dealing with the problems of the ex-slaves.

The author's prize-winning chapter on Davis Bend relates a unique Union experiment to allow ex-slaves to farm the confiscated lands of Jefferson Davis and his brother Joseph. Using a wealth of manuscript materials, the author relates the story of a remarkable ex-slave, Benjamin Montgomery, who led freedmen to farm these lands profitably in spite of floods, army worms, tight credit, and the hostility of whites concerning free labor.

Post-war agriculture receives a good deal of Currie's attention, and since Vicksburg served as a major cotton shipping port, the problems affecting agriculture affected the city. He has thoroughly researched the crop lien system in Warren County and has found that most planters contracting debts from merchants could pay their accounts off at the end of the year. Although the Vicksburg area may well have been atypical of the cotton South after the War, Currie concludes that the crop lien system merits further investigation as being much more equitable than previous research has indicated.

Politics and freedmen were inseparably linked in Reconstruction-era Vicksburg, and the conflict over black-white status was the most enduring source of friction between native white citizens and U. S. authorities. Currie discusses the areas of controversy between military and civilian authorities caused by the new position of the Negro. He also examines the problems involved in the education of the freedmen and points out that the progress of black schools is almost an index of the course of Reconstruction in Vicksburg and throughout the state as well.

Currie's investigation into the economic aspects of the enclave shows that the last two years of the decade were vital in shaping the

future of the Vicksburg area. The city was in a strong position during this time, but her merchants did not take advantage of their virtual monopoly of the cotton and provisions trade in the southern part of the Mississippi Delta. As a result, Vicksburg lost its opportunity to become a vital trade center.

The work concludes with a brief epilogue which takes this Vicksburg history into the 1870s. The readmission of Mississippi into the Union had no appreciable effect upon the area with the exception of the removal of Federal troops. The city remained the lusty, brawling river town it had always been and was perhaps even wilder than before. Vicksburg's status as an enclave does not seem to have made a great difference politically, for after the overthrow of the Reconstruction government in 1875, Republican voting showed a precipitous decline. Currie maintains that long-term Union occupation does not seem to have been of any benefit once the troops were removed and that there is no indication of any lasting black-white cooperation as a result of the "enclave" status.

Currie's book is well researched and offers some materials which have only recently come to light. Although it will be of more interest to historians than to the average reader, it makes a solid contribution to the history of the period.

Mrs. Betty Davis
Longview, Texas

Richmond Redeemed: The Siege at Petersburg. By Richard J. Sommers. (Doubleday and Company, 245 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10167), 1981. Photographs, Notes, Index, Bibliography. p. 696. $22.50.

From September 29 to October 2, 1864, General U.S. Grant directed his "Fifth Offensive" of the siege of Petersburg. During this period, Grant repeatedly sent Butler's Army of the James and Meade's Army of the Potomac against the works defending Richmond and Petersburg. Dr. Sommers describes this offensive in incredible detail. The description of the events surrounding the Union thrusts against Lee is meticulously researched and documented. Twenty-two detailed maps help to clarify the numerous and often complicated troop movements. Eighty-eight pages of notes testify to the careful research that has gone into the preparation of this volume. Dr. Sommers, Archivist/Historian at the U.S. Army Military History Institute at the War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, has produced a highly professional and scholarly treatment of Grant's "Fifth Offensive."

Non-specialists may find *Richmond Redeemed* difficult. Detailed descriptions of marches and counter-marches, lost and seized opportunities, and discussions of tactics and strategy inundate the reader. The

exhaustive details tend to obscure the overall picture of what actually happened during those autumn days.

The most useful and interesting part of the study is the final chapter, "Richmond Redeemed," which contains Sommers' analysis of the strategy, tactics and generalship of the offensive. The assessment of subordinate commanders on both sides is interesting and provocative. The author's understanding of the qualities necessary for subordinate command is apparent and his conclusions valuable. When he assesses the actions of Lee and Grant, Sommers' conclusions are somewhat inconsistent. He characterizes those who have attacked Lee for not abandoning Richmond and Virginia as unfair and unrealistic. While he finds the fight to retain the Confederate capital proper, Sommers finds fault with Lee's methods. He criticizes Lee for "seeking another great victory through bold grand-strategic maneuver rather than in letting the Bluecoats defeat themselves if he could just maintain the tactical equilibrium (422)."

However, when he dispels the myth of "Grant the Butcher," Sommers' interpretation of Lee loses some of its credibility. He correctly describes Grant's war of attrition as "the nonrelaxing tenacity of strategic pressure. He fixed the Southerners in place—not on the battlefield but in the strategic arena—and wore them down in that context . . . and the very loss of strategic mobility resulting from being pinned in place was itself a major contributing factor to the decline of the Army of Northern Virginia (423)."

Lee, the consumate strategist, realized what the loss of strategic mobility meant to his Army and the Confederacy. Maintaining the "tactical equilibrium" would not defeat Grant's strategy. Sommers correctly judges that "the way to stop them was to wrest the initiative from them . . . (440)." To Lee, seizing the tactical initiative was not enough, he had to regain the strategic initiative. Only a bold strategic stroke, the hallmark of Lee's earlier victories, seemed to offer the hope of breaking Grant's hold on the Army of Northern Virginia, and it was that course that Lee attempted to follow in the fall of 1864.

Despite interpretative differences of opinion, *Richmond Redeemed* clearly demonstrates that battles are rarely fought the way commanders envision them. Subordinate commanders, as Sommers points out repeatedly, are responsible for executing the battle plan. If they are unequal to the task, even the best plan has little chance of success. Equally important, the indepth detail provided by the author illustrates the multitude of forces that influence events and frequently mean the difference between ultimate victory and defeat.

Tommy R. Young
Air Force Communications Command
Scott Air Force Base Illinois

Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back. By Robert Penn Warren. (The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506), 1980. p. 114. $8.75.

In this little book (first published in *The New Yorker* magazine), Robert Penn Warren offers an impressionistic essay on Jefferson Davis and the Civil War. Using beautiful prose, Warren deftly guides the reader through his own boyhood recollections, concisely contrasts Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis as wartime executives, and pointedly asks a stubbornly persistant question: why did the Confederate high command fail?

Warren tries to succinctly answer "Who was this Jefferson Davis?" (p. 26). He concludes that Davis was a politician who had never grasped what used to be called the arts of politics. The author writes: "But the game of politics he had not learned (and never did learn): the deal; the nature of combinations; easy fellowship; compromise; the slipperiness of logic; humor; patience; generosity; the ready smile" (p. 47).

Touching the cord of memory of his growing-up days, Warren recollects a black man called "Old Jeff Davis." The author plays an ironic counterpoint of one Jeff Davis to the other. But this is by no means an anti-Davis book. Warren mixes fact, reminiscence, interpretation, and the description of ceremonies in 1979 on the occasion of Davis being given his citizenship back and calls on his readers to think, to reconsider it all.

Anyone interested in America's history will enjoy reading this book.

Joseph G. Dawson III
Texas A&M University at Galveston

Apaches: A History and Culture Portrait. By James L. Haley (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1981, xxi + 453. Illustrations, Notes, Bibliography, and Index. $17.95).

The Apaches probably never numbered more than 6000 or 7000 at any one time, but it seems as if that many essays and books have been written about them. Indeed, another volume hardly seems necessary, yet James Haley manages to provide a whole new understanding about the famous Southwestern tribes as a people. Rather than present another dreary catalogue of raids and counter-raids, massacres of innocent women and children—although there is some of that—and extermination of Army troopers, the gifted young scholar writes mostly about Apache agriculture, myths, religious practices, courtship and marriage, medicine, and social mores.

The author states in the Preface that he does not write a history of

the Apaches from their standpoint because only they can do that. Nor does he aim to ferret out new details so as to shed more light on an already exhaustedly researched area. "Rather, this volume is intended as a different perspective of known facts . . . of two fields of scholarship, Apache history and Apache ethnology, that have heretofore been related, but, puzzlingly, segregated." (p. xiii). The writing of Indian history over the years has evolved from what he calls an Old School into a New School. Proponents of the first generally took the approach that the "savages" had it coming to them for standing in the way of civilization and the march of empire. Such works number in the hundreds, with Colonel Wilbur Nye's very readable *Carbine and Lance* serving as good enough of an example.

Various chapters of American history are frequently re-evaluated to suit the social trends currently in fashion, i.e., *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee.* This has particularly been true in the case of Indian history whereby members of the so-called New School have been anxious to prove that the Indians were the real heroes of the frontier, while the whites were the villians. Haley maintains that the notion that the white man took the land away from the original owners is somewhat simple-minded. He points out that where the Indian's claim to a given parcel of land today is based upon right of heritage, the chances are that he originally took it from some other Indian tribe, just as the white man later took it from him. But New School scholars have tended to vilify white conquest of Indians, while accepting Indians conquering Indians as part of the natural order.

The author strives to be scrupulously fair to both sides, while emphasizing the decisive role played in 19th century Apaches affairs by individuals such as General George Crook and Indian agent John Clum. On the other side of the coin is Mangus Coloradas, Cochise, and Geronimo. The scholarship, insight, objectivity, and readability that Haley brings to his second book makes *Apaches* one of the most fresh and exciting works that has appeared about Indians during the past several years.

W. Eugene Hollon
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Petroleum Politics and The Texas Railroad Commission. By David F. Prindle. (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78712), 1981. Notes, Index. p. 230. $14.95.

Prindle chose a little-known topic, the Texas Railroad Commission, operating in a "city [Austin] far from the beaten paths of national policy." He shows no ideological bias or moral indignation and even challenges academia orthodoxy. "For fifty years, certain economists, political scientists and journalists have attacked the Texas Railroad Commission as an enemy of the consumer and a threat to national security." Others, of course, defended it. "But from the perspective of the 1980s," he writes, "the Commission's faults seem less grave and its virtues seem more substantial than we might expect." (p. 135) For an academician, his interpretation is unusual.

Because the Commissioners were elected and not appointed, their natural constituency was the small producers or independents. And wanting to keep the wealth generated by the oil industry within the state, the Commission favored the independents. Such action encouraged conservation and promoted entrepreneurship. But the independents lost much of their protection in the 1960s with the major producers' importation of oil. That, plus the new consumer interest in the industry generated by the oil shortage has changed the political nature of the Commission. "When examined in a long-run perspective, the substance of Railroad Commission policy making gets fairly high marks." (p 201) It would appear, however, that the future favors the majors who can make huge contributions to the Commissioners' campaigns. An alternative to the general problem would be a federal take-over.

Prindle should be commended for tackling a difficult subject and explaining it clearly. His sources seem skimpy, but he had to rely on personal interviews. His work will help those interested in modern Texas history and resource management.

D. Clayton Brown
Texas Christian University

Ambush: The Real Story of Bonnie and Clyde. By Ted Hinton as told to Larry Grove. (Shoal Creek Publishers, Inc., P.O. Box 9737, Austin, TX 78766), 1979. Illustrations, Appendices, Index. p. 211. $12.50.

A remarkably fresh perspective on the saga of Bonnie and Clyde is given in this 211 page volume. Ted Hinton was a lawman who tells his story with the same power and purpose which enabled him to arrest the careers of two of the southwest's notorious villians. The story of

Bonnie and Clyde has been told and retold for the past forty-plus years, but Hinton brings to the reader a version which reveals inside facts which only he could know.

As one of the six lawmen who was involved in the capture of these legendary outlaws, Hinton tells his version from the perspective of one who grew up in the same Dallas neighborhoods as Clyde Barrow. He knew from personal experience the code of conduct which made Bonnie and Clyde capture the imagination of a law abiding public of the 1930s. The book is made even more readable because it provides vivid descriptions of Dallas and the southwest during the depression years. Hinton uses his personal recollection of this era to form a background to the story which would justify action taken in the ambush of Bonnie and Clyde not revealed in other writings of book length.

The six officers who set the ambush for Bonnie and Clyde near Gibsland, Louisiana on May 23, 1934 all agreed at that time to withhold some facts about the ambush. In 1977, only Hinton remained of the original six. He set at work to furnish the record with facts about this incident which have heretofore been unknown. All those who have been excited by accounts of the infamous Bonnie and Clyde will welcome his revealing story.

Hinton uses this book, completed only months before his own death, to refute much of the misinformation which has become part of the legend of these two folk heroes. The reader is indeed fortunate to receive the benefit of the writer's extensive private files which were used to produce the manuscript for this book. After reading Hinton's work, a reader has a better understanding of the southwest of the 1930s—a region and time which produced the subject of this book.

There are two very well organized appendices in the book which will be of use to the reader interested in historical research. Appendix A lists those unfortunate persons killed by the Barrow gang. The twelve victims are given by date, name, occupation and place of the killing. In Appendix B, Hinton gives a chronology from his records of the career of Bonnie and Clyde. The major events of their careers are reported with special attention to the details of each major crime. The careful research and personal glimpses of this book merit the attention of anyone interested in the history of criminal behavior during the depression era.

James O. Standley
Stephen F. Austin State University

Kelly Blue. By William Weber Johnson. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843), 1979. Illustrations, Acknowledgements. p. 175. $14.95.

A biography of primitive artist H. O. 'Cowboy' Kelly, this book is much more. It chronicles the events of his life accurately, but also captures the spirit and flavor of his times and the atmosphere of the various locales where Kelly lived.

Kelly won considerable fame in the last years of his life for his paintings which affectionately depicted scenes of his youth and of a way of life that he sought to cling to. Though most associated with Texas, Kelly was born in Ohio and finished two years of high school in Marquette, Michigan, before the family moved to Pennsylvania. It was here at age sixteen at the turn of the century that Kelly had his first job on a farm. Despite a couple of attempts at a career as a machinist's apprentice, most of Kelly's life was spent on farms and ranches. A varied and eventful life it was, full of defeat and hardship, but lived with hard work and an optimist zest and few regrets.

The old ways appealed to Kelly. He loved horses and seemed to think that tractors and automobiles were a temporary aberation in American life. The book eloquently relates the adventures, misfortunes and tribulations of Kelly through Arizona, Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas. Kelly had experiences as farmer, horse trader, ox drover and dust bowl refugee. His frustrated effort to hold together a farm in the dust bowl during the 'thirties is an especially poignant chapter.

Though he painted and drew all his life he did not attach much importance to it. Painting was, like harmonica playing, just something he did because it gave him pleasure. He began painting seriously only when poor health and financial problems left him with little else to do. His paintings were of things that he remembered with affection. Ohio farms, hog killings, blacksmith shops, pleasant villages—scenes where the sky is always blue, the people happy and the livestock well-fed. He quickly found that interest in his work extended far beyond his friends. He became well known for the unaffected honesty of his comments and observations as well as his paintings.

William Weber Johnson has done a masterful job of capturing the essence of the man and his times. He has researched the man's life thoroughly, but tells it with the warmth and affection that came from personal acquaintance with Kelly before his death in 1955.

The book contains a sensitive and moving foreword by Tom Lea. First published in 1960, the current edition contains seventeen color reproductions of Kelly's paintings that were not in the original edition.

Reesman S. Kennedy
Stephen F. Austin State University

Thomas Moran: Watercolors of the American West. By Carol Clark. (University of Texas, Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78712), 1980. Photographs, Appendices, Index. p. 180. $25.00.

Thomas Moran (1837-1926) has been applauded as the greatest Western landscape artist of the late nineteenth century. In watercolor and in oil, he conveyed with controlled line and brilliant color the grandeur and beauty of the untrammeled mountains and canyons of the vast Rocky Mountain wilderness. English-born Moran was reared in Philadelphia, where he was apprenticed as an illustrator. In 1871 he accompanied the Hayden Expedition to the Yellowstone, and produced "field watercolors" that proved highly influential in Congress' decision to create the first national park there in 1872. His career launched, Moran soon had wealthy patrons clamoring for oil paintings. Few were interested in his watercolors, however, considering them primary sketches for larger productions. Strangely, it was not until after his death that his watercolors attracted attention as art in themselves.

Thomas Moran: Watercolors of the American West was prepared by Carol Clark, curator of paintings at the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art at Fort Worth, Texas, to accompany a Moran exhibit held there in May-July of 1980. Clark provides an excellent overview of Moran's career, describing his early life, training and travels; influences on his work; and patrons. Her chapter, "Moran and Nineteenth-Century Watercolor Aesthetics," is a highly perceptive discussion of Moran's techniques and style. A selection of Moran's watercolors highlights the volume. Featured are ten color plates, fifty black and white reproductions, and four photographs. About one half of the watercolors depict places in the Yellowstone National Park, some ten portray missions and towns in Mexico, and the rest are selected sites in the Lower Colorado River Basin and neighboring states. Several are unfinished sketches with Moran's scribbled notes readily visible. All reflect the work of a careful, inspired artist.

The appended material is of special interest. In a *catalogue raisonné,* Clark presents detailed information on 295 watercolors by Moran. Following the catalog is an extensive biblography, an exhibition checklist (80) items, a list of collectors, donors, and collections, and a general index. Art historians, museum curators, and patrons of Western art will find this volume both stimulating and valuable.

Harwood P. Hinton
University of Arizona

The Population of the South: Structure and Change in Social Demographic Context. Edited by Dudley L. Poston, Jr., and Robert H. Weller. (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, Texas 78712), 1981. Preface, Tables, References, Author Index, Subject Index. p. 307. $25.00.

This collection of ten essays focuses on demographic change in the South during the period from 1950 to 1975. The authors generally use the one hundred years or so since Reconstruction for historical background, but their primary concern is with developments over the third quarter of this century and especially those during the five years following the census of 1970. There are discussions of fertility, mortality, and migration; examinations of the demographics of urbanization and industrialization; and assessments of southern population change from economic and political perspectives. Some of the presentations are marred by sociological jargon that tends to confuse rather than clarify, but the overall result is useful and thought-provoking.

In general, the essays support one broad conclusion about patterns of demographic change in the modern South: Since 1950, the region's population has rapidly become more similar to that of the nation as a whole. For example, southern fertility and mortality rates, once much higher, no longer vary notably from those elsewhere in the United States. Also, the system of metropolitan areas and industrial development in the South shows growing similarities with the rest of the country.

The essays, however, also raise a very broad and speculaive question: Does the present convergence of southern demographic characteristics with those of the nation as a while mean conformity in the future, or is this development simply a temporary similarity that will be followed by a new divergence in the last quarter of the century? Obviously no one can answer with certainty, but most of the essays conclude that significant demographic differences will continue to separate the South and other regions. This belief is based on such factors as the rapidity with which change has come (since the South's demographic characteristics have changed more rapidly than those of other areas, the end result will be different) and the diversity of the South's population (Native whites, Negroes, and in-migrants differ demographically; thus the changing composition of the southern population will determine its convergence or divergence from national norms.). For that matter, of course, as several of these essays remind us, much of the fabled growth of the post-World War II South has been limited to a few states such as Florida and Texas and a few metropolitan areas such as Houston and Atlanta. Perhaps only certain areas of the South are primarily responsible for the region's demographic convergence with the rest of the nation. Large expanses of the rural South may be little changed.

Finally, these essays raise the question of whether or not convergence of the South's population is a desirable goal. Surely it is, if it means a smaller proportion of southerners below the poverty level, improvements in education, and broad cultural advance. But if demographic changes related to urbanization and industrialization mean unplanned growth and unconcerned exploitation of resources, then convergence will soon bring the problems that afflict many older metropolitan-industrial areas today.

The Population of the South suggests that our region, which has lagged far behind the rest of the United States for generations, is in some ways now catching up. There even appears to be a chance that the "New South" dream which proved so empty in the 1880s will become a reality in the 1980s and beyond. This remains to be seen.

Randolph B. Campbell
North Texas State University

A Search for Equality: The National Urban League, 1910-1961. By Jesse Thomas Moore, Jr. (Penn State Press, 215 Wagner Bldg., University Park, Pennsylvania 16802), 1981. Notes, Index. p. 252. $17.95.

Jesse T. Moore interprets the founding of the National Urban League (1911) as a sequential development in the efforts of American Negroes to acquire equal rights. Thus, the author devotes two introductory chapters in this monographic study to a survey of changes in Negro life from 1830 to 1910, familiar material to scholars but required reading for the uninitiated who would understand the significance of Moore's research.

Founded two years after the more publicized National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the bi-racial National Urban League (NUL) is viewed by the author as "an authentic product of the Progressive Era" (p. 54). Whereas C. Vann Woodward wrote a chapter on "Progressivism—For Whites Only" in his *Origins of the New South,* such was not the case in the North. Moore notes that "by 1909 the urban white occupational elites and Negro professionals were in agreement that national interracial organizations seemed the best hope of protecting and expanding Negroes' political rights and advancing their economic and social status" (p. 46). He views the social service goals of the NUL and the political focus of the NAACP as compatible, even though a cooperative spirit between the two groups was notably lacking between 1920 and 1940.

Fortunately, the Progressive spirit had earlier brought about the

merger of antecedent organizations and sympathetic whites to form the NUL under the leadership of Dr. George E. Haynes, who in his initial thrust sought primarily to train Negro social workers to serve urban newcomers of their race. What with the mass migration of untrained Southern Negroes to Northern industrial centers beginning in 1914, and the rapidly rising influence of Eugene K. Jones in the NUL, vocational guidance became increasingly emphasized.

Moore's contention is that the NUL leadership rose about the well-known Washington-DuBois controversy of that period. Moreover, the NUL concentrated neither on the industrial training offered at Tuskegee nor on the "talented tenth" in which DuBois placed his faith. Instead, NUL strategy sought "to convince people of a need for change, and to impart to the urban masses middle class values" (p. 54). NUL, however, would fail to attract the Negro masses who favored racial separatism and would flock to the Black Nationalism banner of Marcus Garvey in the 1920s.

Policies of the federal government and the American Federation of Labor, as well as the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the economic depression following World War I, defeated NUL efforts to challenge "white racism" and to remove "from the minds of the Negro migrants a residual slave psychology during the years 1921 and 1940" (p. 68).

A. Philip Randolph's call in 1941 for an all-Negro march on Washington "radically altered urban Negroes' search for equality" (p. 110), and suggested to some NUL members that white participation in their organization should be diminished. Shortly thereafter, World War II brought forth a more challenging issue—segregation in the armed forces. At war's end Urban League Executive Secretary Lester B. Granger allegedly exaggerted his, albeit "enormous," role in the desegregation process.

President Truman's ensuing civil rights program and the increasing urbanization of the American Negro encouraged some NUL members to demand more forthright action on the part of their leaders and the diminution of the organization's traditional social work orientation. Moreover, internal dissension increased in the 1950s because the Board continued to be "overwhelmingly white" (p. 167).

Secretary Granger's expectations of advances in equal rights during the Eisenhower years failed to materialize. "While Eisenhower endeavored to minimize the extent of the administration's involvement in civil rights, he was at the same time fully aware of the growing political importance of civil rights" (p. 195).

Moore contends that the founders of both the NUL and the NAACP were ideological descendants of Frederick Douglass who, like

they, recognized that the struggle to destroy institutional racism would require a pragmatic approach and a protracted struggle. While noting that a conservative leadership inhibited the NUL's adjustment to rapid change, the author finds the League's contributions to interracial understanding commendable. He declares that NUL's "approach to correcting the glaring inequities in American life has been that of intelligent discussion rather than of inflammatory discourse, and of calm analysis rather than hate" (p. 212).

Inasmuch as the role of the well-publicized NAACP is more familiar, this volume represents an important addition to our knowledge of the struggle for racial equality in this country. Moore concludes this study with the appearance of the "New Guard"—Whitney M. Young, Jr., and his successor, Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Hopefully the author will pursue his topic and discover that the successes of Young and Jordan represent in large measure a fulfillment of the dreams of their predecessors.

Donald E. Everett
Trinity University

Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas. By Darlene Clark Hine. (Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd., Rt. 10, Millwood, N.Y. 10546), 1979. Bibliography, Index. p. 266, $23.00.

With *Black Victory* Professor Darlene Clark Hine of Purdue University makes a significant contribution to the history of civil rights, to black history in general, and to Texas history. In a chronological and very logical way Hine surveys the full development of the white primary and the subsequent strivings of Afro-Americans to overthrow that kind of racially discriminatory primary. Divided into ten chapters of equal importance, the book proves to be thorough and informative. Moreover, the preface and afterword place the book in perspective.

Hine first discusses the major nineteenth century decisions of the United States Supreme Court wherein the court strictly limited its interpretations of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The effect was to consign blacks to second-class citizenship and disfranchisement. Chapter two covers the rise of the white primary in Texas. The next chapter identifies the black participants in the ensuing battle over the white primary—black Texans and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The remaining chapters deal for the most part with white primary cases which went before the courts. Covered are *Nixon* v. *Herndon*

(1927), *Nixon* v. *Condon* (1932), and *Grovey v. Townsend* (1935. Also developed are chapters on the white primary cases coming out of Virginia, Arkansas, and Florida (1928-1930) and on the NAACP legal struggles (1936-1941). In the final chapter Hine ably covers *Smith* v. *Allwright* (1944) and the fall of the white primary systems (1944-1952). The chapters all reflect the Supreme Court's slow and laborious progress toward giving the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments the breadth and scope its framers intended. As Hine concludes so well, the Smith decision in its implications had far-reaching effects on race relations, particularly in the South. The Smith case was a great historical watershed from whence came the beginnings of the Second Reconstruction or the modern civil rights movement. "The political and social advances of blacks," says Hine, "could not have occurred without the changes that came in the wake of the overthrow of the Democratic white primary" (p. 233).

Black Victory is an almost flawless volume in regard to both research and writing. Above all, the author constructs a clear "path" through the maze of history leading up to and beyond the Smith decision —the ramifications of which are significantly gauged. This volume is must reading for scholars interested in southern, Texas, black, recent, and constitutional history. It is well worth having, and Hine is to be congratulated.

James Smallwood
Oklahoma State University

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